

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, April 1895.

## VICTOR HUGO IN THE ESTIMATION OF HIS COUNTRYMEN.

TEN years have elapsed since Victor Hugo, the most extraordinary man that France has ever produced, was carried to his resting place in the Pantheon. For his sake, the Church of Ste. Geneviève, which since the Restoration had been devoted to religious worship, was secularized by the Government and destined anew for a burial place of great men deserving the gratitude of the nation. On the first of June, 1885, the remains of the great poet were conveyed from the *Arc de Triomphe* in the *Champs-Élysées*, where they had been lying in state, to the crypt on Mount Geneviève. Never before had the Parisians witnessed a funeral procession accompanied by such tumultuous popular demonstrations, as when the plain hearse of the millionaire-poet passed along the avenues and boulevards, crowded with half a million of the population.

As the recollection of these scenes of a decade ago, and of similar outbursts of popular enthusiasm during Victor Hugo's life-time, associates itself with an estimation of his life and work, a desire to view the figure of the famous man in the light in which it rises before the eyes of his own countrymen grows stronger and stronger. There are good reasons for believing that only Frenchmen, and not many of them, can appreciate V. Hugo's work in its entirety. Only a French heart can feel strongly enough for the distinguished poet and great citizen to forget the ridiculous, and remember the sublime, which are so strangely mingled in his personality and in his productions.

On the sixth of January, 1829, when V. Hugo was in his twenty-seventh year, Désiré Nisard wrote these words:

"Have you read the new Odes of V. Hugo?—'They are absurd,' says a voice at my right... 'They are incomparably beautiful,' says one at my left... You imagine whence the two answers came; from the enemies and from the partisans of the poet. These two have hitherto formed his entire public."

These words were true not only in 1829, but

they have remained true during nearly the whole of V. Hugo's career; he seems to have had few impartial readers and critics till within the last ten or fifteen years.

Fifty-seven years later, in 1886, within a year after the poet's death, the same critic just quoted wrote: "V. Hugo has not attained the glory of one perfect production." This statement also holds true if we except a certain number of his lyrical poems; it expresses the common opinion of all, save the blindest admirers of the poet.

There are many reasons why Frenchmen should harbor for their illustrious countryman feelings of pride and admiration. The people saw in him the reflection of its own genius. He had maintained a superb attitude toward imperial usurpation, and his political and social ideas seemed to many to have been justified by the tragic end of the Second Empire; the unthinking millions had been captivated by his utopian ideas and his insane flatteries to the people of Paris. His brilliant literary genius was justly admired by the whole civilized world. Aside from all this, the circumstances surrounding his earlier career were such as to endear him to the hearts of those familiar with them.

V. Hugo's precocity was in some respects different from that of other great poets. Of course, he wrote verses early in life; his first poetic essays date from 1813, when he was eleven years old. At fifteen, he had composed a melodrama in three acts (*Inez de Castro*), a comic opera, and a number of poems. About the same time, in 1817, he competed for the French Academy's annual prize for poetry and received 'honorable mention' for his poem of three hundred lines on the *Advantages of Study*. His first novel (*Bug Jargal*) was also written at this period—upon a wager, in two weeks—and his first *Odes* brought him from the literary society of Toulouse two prizes and subsequently the title of *maître des jeux floraux*.

But the boy Hugo wrote not only verses for his amusement. He had made up his mind to be a poet. "I will be Chateaubriand or nothing," he had written upon his copy-book when

a boy\* of fourteen, and he set himself to his task in good earnest. At seventeen he founded, in company with his two brothers, of whom the oldest was twenty-one, a literary journal, *le Conservateur littéraire*, (the name of Chateaubriand's journal was *le Conservateur*). A complete set of this journal, from December, 1819, till March, 1821, has been discovered by Edmond Biré.\* Some entire numbers are from the pen of Victor, and prove that the young critic was not only master of an excellent style but possessed remarkable critical acumen as well.

V. Hugo's celebrity, however, dates from the publication of his first volume of *Odes* in 1822. The story of the origin of one of these poems is worth telling. On the night of February 4th, 1819, Victor was watching at the bed-side of his sick mother. She expressed her disappointment at his neglect to compete for a certain prize. After she had fallen asleep the boy went to work, and on the next morning he put into her hands the finished ode on the *Restoration of the Statue of Henry the Fourth*.

The study of V. Hugo's works reminds one, again and again, of a remark once made by the poet himself: "It is my childhood that has made my mind what it is." An imagina-

\*EDMOND BIRÉ'S *V. Hugo avant 1830* (1 vol.), *V. Hugo après 1830* (2 vols.), *V. Hugo après 1852* (1 vol.), are among the most valuable contributions to the biography of the poet. Other valuable aids in the study of V. Hugo are: CHRENOUVIER, *V. Hugo le Poète*; E. DUPUY, *V. Hugo, l'homme et le poète*; L. MABILLEAU, *V. Hugo*; PETIT DE JULLEVILLE, *Le théâtre en France*; J. LEMAITRE, *Les Contemporains*; SAINTE-BEUVE, *Portraits contemporains*; NISARD, *Essays sur l'Ecole romantique*; E. FAGUET, *Etudes littéraires*; F. BRUNETIÈRE, *Nouvelles questions de critique*; G. PELLISIER, *Le mouvement littéraire au 19<sup>ème</sup> siècle*; E. HENNEQUIN, *Etudes de critique scientifique*; A. GUYAN, *L'Art au point de vue sociologique*; LOUIS VEUILLOT, *Etudes sur V. Hugo*; PAUL DE SAINT-VICTOR, *V. Hugo*; ALFRED BARBOU, *V. Hugo et son temps*; ALFRED ASSELINE, *V. Hugo intime*; GUSTAVE RIVET, *V. Hugo chez lui*; A. CHALLAMEL, *Souvenirs d'un Hugoldtre*; D'HEYLLI, *Documents de la guerre de 1870-71: Victor Hugo et la Commune*; Louis Ulbach, *Almanach de V. Hugo*; Gustave Larroumet, *La Maison de V. Hugo*; E. Biré, *L'Année 1817*; E. Deschanel, *Lamartine* (2 vols.); also numerous articles in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, and the autobiographical *Victor Hugo raconté par un témoin de sa vie*. The plan of this essay precludes reference to any but French works on V. Hugo. Still, attention is called to a valuable article in 'Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung,' Munich, June 12, 1894: 'Neues über Victor Hugo,' by Professor Joseph Sarrazin.

tion naturally strong could not but be stimulated in an extraordinary degree by the ever changing scenes and too vivid impressions which were crowded into the first ten years of his life. Before he had reached this age, little Victor had been taken by his mother, the wife of one of Napoleon's generals, to the islands of Corsica and Elba; he had listened, in the kingdom of Naples, to the story of the exploits of Fra Diavolo, the famous bandit whom his father had captured; he had crossed the Pyrenees and occupied with his parents a luxurious palace in Madrid and attended in the same city the 'College of Nobles,' a 'sinister convent,' where the discipline was austere and the amusements even lugubrious; on Sundays the boys were taken to the cemetery for exercise. No wonder that the garden of the Feuillantines, where Mme Hugo, with her three boys, took up her abode after her return to Paris, in 1812, appeared to him like a haven of peace of which he later made the scene of the 'Idyl of the Rue Plumet' in *Les Misérables*. The names of two places, Hernani and Torquemada, where the family had stopped on the journey to Madrid, were afterward chosen by the poet as titles of two of his dramas. A reminiscence of the picture gallery in the Masserano palace is found in the scene of Ruy Gomez in *Hernani*. Elespuru and Gubetta, the two hateful characters in *Cromwell* and *Lucretia Borgia*, bear the names of two boys with whom the Hugo brothers fought at the convent school; but nothing excited the imagination of the boy so strongly as the hideous form of a dwarf-like valet that waited upon the sons of princes and nobles at the same school: the repulsive creations of Han d'Islande, of Triboulet in *The King Makes Merry*, and of Quasimodo in *Notre Dame de Paris*, owe their origin to this deformed creature.

Aside from these and other reminiscences of early impressions, it cannot be doubted that his early acquaintance with Spain and Southern Italy and the exciting, eventful scenes which history was unrolling before his eyes, determined, in a general way, the grand, magnificent, extravagant turn of his imagination. The same causes also explain the preference of the great French poet for the Span-

ish drama, "with its taste for the improbable and absurd in the play of the passions and of chance."

The unusual conditions of young Hugo's first acquaintance with the outside world receive all the more significance from the fact that his education in the narrower sense of the word, the mental discipline and training derived from teaching and from books, was by no means such as to insure that all-sided development of the mental faculties requisite for a well-balanced mind. It is true, he enjoyed regular instruction for five or six years, but in his reading he was absolutely without guidance, and although he mentions in his lyrics the Bible, Virgil and Homer as his favorite books, it is known from other sources that he read indiscriminately all sorts of books, among them Voltaire and Rousseau, his mother being of opinion that books could do no harm.

At all events, when V. Hugo entered upon his literary career with the set purpose of enlightening his nation and his age, his information as well as his mental training, were absurdly inadequate for such a task. And yet no other poet ever had a more exalted idea of his mission, or proclaimed it so frequently and with such emphasis, as V. Hugo. For sixty years, from the preface to his first *Odes*, in 1822, till the time of his death, he reasserts the high claims of the Poet in prefaces, lyrics and epics, and assigns to him attributes so varied that no other vocation can claim them all: the Poet is a worker, a teacher, a prophet, a holy dreamer, a sage, a thinker, a reformer; he is a judge, and avenger; he is Atlas carrying the globe; he is not only the first of critics but also the highest of philosophers.

How near to this lofty and unattainable ideal did V. Hugo come? What was his character, his life; and what the work he accomplished?

Goodness, universal kindness, gentleness combined with energy of action, sympathy with suffering humanity, pity for the sinner and great readiness to forgive, we are told, were his chief virtues, and again and again, in his prose and verse, do these traits rise to the surface. Neither can it be maintained that they are lacking in his actual life. The sincerity of V. Hugo's family affections cannot be doubted, notwithstanding a not infrequent

lack of tact in their manifestation, and even in spite of the presence, during fifty years of the poet's life, of 'Mme. Drouet'—an enigma which baffles the ordinary moral understanding.

V. Hugo's earnestness and faithful industry, the ardor with which he performed his literary task, day after day, through his long life, and the courage and hopefulness which never left him during his exile, whether enforced or voluntary, are traits of character well worth our admiration. There is also a certain manliness in V. Hugo's contempt for critics and in his principle to amend his old works by producing better ones. On the other hand, there is ample proof that the *man* was not indifferent to the critics, though the *poet* disdained to heed their advice. Scores of passages from his poems might be quoted in which he takes brutal revenge on those who had the boldness to find fault with some of his verses or to ridicule his political speeches; such offences he would remember forty years, and more, after they had been committed.

The sad truth is, that the homage and adulation, of which the young poet became the object especially since he occupied such a commanding position as the leader of the Romantic movement, about 1830, awakened in him an enormous pride. The consequence was that he soon had no longer any friends, but only subjects and worshippers, young men who could say with Théophile Gautier:

"If I were so unfortunate as to believe that a line of V. Hugo's could be bad, I should not dare confess it to myself, all alone, in the cellar, without a candle."

V. Hugo's marvelous imagination and gift of versification, his lack of philosophical training, the indiscriminate admiration of his friends, and the astounding ignorance of the young *littérateurs* who formed his circle of acquaintances, were the cause of his belief in his own superiority as a thinker. His vanity, "equal to his genius, which was immense," soon became the ruling passion of his life. Its ludicrous side may be illustrated by an anecdote told by Turgenieff:

"The 'master' was leaning upon the mantelpiece, surrounded by his disciples. One of these having expressed the wish that the street



on which V. Hugo was living might receive his name, the objection was made that it was too small, that one of the largest thoroughfares of Paris ought to be thus honored. But the enthusiasm of some of the poet's admirers did not stop here: it was claimed that all Paris ought to be named the 'City of Victor Hugo.' Whereupon the 'master' approvingly said: "The time will come, sir; the time will come (*ça viendra*)!"

But V. Hugo's vanity led to worse things than ridicule; it beguiled him into disguising and distorting the truth. Ambition, and, we are glad to believe, patriotism impelled V. Hugo to add political renown to his literary fame. During his youth and early manhood he shared the political faith of his mother, who was a native, not exactly, as he claims, of the *Vendée*, the ancient stronghold of royalism, but of Britany. His *Odes* celebrate in enthusiastic strains of wonderful richness the "throne and the altar." Several of them show decided hostility to Bonaparte. In 1827, the year in which he wrote the preface to *Cromwell*, the manifesto of the Romantic school, he cast off the traditions both of classicism and of royalism. His next two volumes of lyrics, the *Orientales* (1829) and *Autumn Leaves* (1831), reveal a growing liberalism and especially an increasing admiration for the glory and power of the First Empire (*Napoléon, ce dieu, dont tu seras le prêtre*). Still, under the Orleans dynasty V. Hugo was warmly attached to the cause of monarchy. He was on almost intimate terms with Louis Philippe and with his son, the Duke of Orleans. If he had in earlier years accepted a pension from Louis XVIII, and the cross of the Legion of Honor from Charles X, whom as late as 1829 he assured of his loyalty and devotion, he was by the 'Citizen King' made an officer of the Legion of Honor and, in 1845, a peer of France, and he addressed to him the words: "Sire, God and France have need of you." Furthermore, remembering that his father, General Hugo, had been made a Count by King Joseph of Spain, which title, however, had never been recognized in France, the poet signed himself for years *Viscount Victor Hugo*. More than this; his aristocratic aspirations made him seek his ancestry in a noble Hugo family whose pedigree he traces back some three or four hundred years, and readers of

*Les Misérables* and *Notre Dame*, and of his book *Le Rhin*, will remember that he introduces his fictitious noble ancestors in these works.

In 1841, V. Hugo, entered the French Academy, and he was probably the most famous man in France when, in 1848, after the downfall of the Orleans monarchy, he took his seat in the Constituent Assembly as a deputy from Paris. These political inconsistencies, amidst the frequent changes of government in France, were in themselves not very strange; they seemed quite natural in the case of a man whose ideas, according to the most enlightened and dispassionate French critics, were "only reflexes of the ideas of his age"; his political changes were merely "modifications of his aptitude to reflect."

But it is more than strange, it is past believing, that vanity, or any other motive, should have inveigled V. Hugo into an attempt to prove to the world his consistency in political matters. In vain did he mutilate and alter passages in his works while boldly asserting that he had changed nothing; in vain did he ante-date poems and articles in order to assign his royalist tendencies to the years of his youth; his own emphatic assertions of the "fixity of his opinions," of the "immutable firmness of his principles," were of no more avail than the assurances of his friends that V. Hugo "never denied his past," that he has "never blushed to recall his early opinions." In 1850 he was a member of the extreme radical wing of the Republican party, and from that time on he remained a staunch Republican. After his return to France, in 1870, he was elected to the National Assembly, which, in 1871, held its meetings at Bordeaux, but he resigned his seat after a few months. Four years later, he once more entered politics as senator for life. At all times, whether a royalist, Bonapartist, or republican, he has been a friend of the people. In so far there was unity in his political life. But his influence upon public affairs in France was never of any importance.

The frequent outbursts of religious feeling in V. Hugo's writings, especially in his lyrics, must have invited many a reader to speculation on the poet's religion; but none, it is to be

presumed, have succeeded in defining his faith, either from his poetical confessions or from biographical data. In his earlier years, as far back as 1820-22, V. Hugo was as fervent a Catholic as any royalist of the time. Later, the negative element, the definitions of the God in whom he does *not* believe, are much more clearly stated than the positive. He has given expression to his religious ideas in several of his longer poems at various epochs; for example, in the poem entitled 'Wisdom' (1840), the last piece of *Lights and Shadows*; in the last number of *Contemplations* (1855); in the poem 'To the Bishop who calls me an atheist,' in *L'Année terrible* (1870); but his language is so vague and the thought so mystic as almost to defy analysis. Occasionally a simpler outpouring of the heart meets us in his pages, as in these lines of the poem in *Contemplations*, written at the spot on the Seine where the poet's daughter and her husband were drowned:

"I come to thee, oh Lord, Father, in whom I must believe!  
Apeased, I bring to thee  
The fragments of this heart, full of thy glory,  
Which thou hast broken.  
I come to thee, oh Lord! confessing that thou art  
Kind, merciful, indulgent, gentle, oh living God!  
I own, thou only know'st what thou art doing,  
And man is but a reed set trembling by the wind."

In 1848 V. Hugo was a fervent admirer of Pope Pius IX, who "points out the right and safe path to all kings, nations, statesmen, and thinkers." Scarcely three years later, in the *Châtiments*, he calls the same pope a 'butcher' and compares him to Alexander Borgia.

Charles Renouvier, one of the most philosophical of all the writers on V. Hugo, sums up the political and religious phases of the poet in these words:

"He has been successively all that the century has been, except a materialist and atheist. He has been Bonapartist, royalist, catholic, liberal monarchist, a vague deist, pantheist, a groping socialist, republican, absolute democrat, . . . a prophet profuse of blessings and of curses, metempsychosist, messianist, manichean, and millenarian."

But it is time to speak of those qualities of V. Hugo's *mind* which constitute the real source and power of his unquestionable genius. And here again, it behooves first to protest against the extravagant claims of some of his

followers. Every reader of V. Hugo's poetry and novels must at times have been exasperated by the dazzling array of historical and geographical names of which he is so fond. Thus, in the conclusion of the poem on the 'Battle of Sedan,' in *L'Année terrible*, we count forty proper names in eighteen lines; fifty-four names of persons, more or less known in history or literature, are introduced to help establish the fact that the plebiscite in 1870 was not the true verdict of the people; in a single letter in *Le Rhin* occur sixty-two dates and four hundred and sixty proper names!

Whether we may credit or not the poet's own statement that such enormous special information was stored in his memory, it is certain that those are mistaken who see in this display of erudition the proof of great learning. V. Hugo's memory was phenomenal but purely formal, retaining only the outward aspect of things; as his universal curiosity led him from his early childhood to devour all kinds of books, his memory must have been filled with a great mass of names and facts. A liberal use of these, combined with a great profusion of images and an occasional lack of coherence, will make the understanding of an author difficult. It is therefore possible that certain parts of the *Legend of Ages*, for example, to be understood, "require a degree of attention, a faculty of abstraction, a rapidity of thought, analogous to that which a Plato or Empedocles were wont to expect of their disciples," without *necessarily* involving great profundity or originality of thought.

It is a curious fact that the brightest of minds, even among the poet's own countrymen, are by no means agreed as to the rank to be assigned to V. Hugo as a thinker; their discussions of this question are not quite lacking in a comical element. Individual readers will of course discover serious thought where others do not see anything of the kind. So much, however, may be considered as settled at the present time, that V. Hugo did not fulfill a high mission as a philosopher; his philosophy of life was tainted with such a confusion of passion, duty, and law, that its influence, as far as it went, could not be beneficial. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that many single pieces and separate

passages in his works possess a wonderful power and breathe the spirit of profound human sympathy. More than this: Brunetière reminds us that while V. Hugo's ideas are few and of narrow range, seldom new and not often his own, new relations of ideas, enriching and advancing thought, result from his original, unexpected association of words. The poet himself is well aware of the important rôle, in his writings, of words as generators of ideas: "And I knew well," he says in *Contemplations*, "that the angry hand, which liberates the word, also sets free the idea." The influence of a reform of language upon the transformation of ideas can be traced in more than one period of French literature.

Our poet has also, unwittingly perhaps, and certainly without the intention of furnishing the key-note to his critics, stated one of the most striking characteristics of his genius, his power of echoing the ideas of his time:

"Love and the tomb, and fame, and life,  
The gliding waves, in infinite succession,  
Each breeze, each fatal or propitious ray,  
Makes my own crystal soul vibrate with light;  
My thousand-voiced soul, which God, whom I adore,  
Has, a sonorous echo, placed in the midst of all."

(*Feuilles d'automne.*)

V. Hugo's faculty of observation was extraordinary. His physical vision was very quick and of such vigor that he never used glasses, even in his old age. "His eye never rests upon a tower," says Sainte-Beuve, "without his counting the angles, sides and points." But it seems that, while his eye was attracted by the strongest reliefs, the most salient points, it was little sensible to color: his own pencil and crayon sketches are lacking in color distinctions, but exhibit strong light and shade effects. Psychologists tell us that a person's manner of seeing affects his manner of visualizing, and it is therefore not surprising that V. Hugo's poetic images are almost always marked by strong contrasts. Antithesis is the strongest characteristic of his style; not only his language, his form of expression, is antithetical, but he thinks in antitheses, and the contents of his poems and chapters, the characters of his dramas and novels, are almost without exception combinations of opposite elements. This tendency could not but prove dangerous to a poet of such marvelous gift of

imagination and unparaleled power of expression. His incredible facility of creating new expressions for the same idea, apparent already in his earliest productions, led in his later works to unheard of excesses. The idea that Marat was both good and bad, ferocious and charitable, is in one of his latest poems ('l'Echafaud,' in *Toute la lyre*) expressed by thirty-five different images, followed by a dozen more referring to Marat's companions, whom the poet designates as "compassionate tigers" and "formidable lambs."

Often, this profusion of images forms a series of exclamations and apostrophes: on a single page in the *Legend of Ages* there are thirteen sentences all beginning with *Quoi!* 'What!', and all expressive of the poet's indignation at the degeneracy of the descendants of Wilhelm Tell and Arnold von Winkelried. In the novel '1793,' Gauvain, the republican, learns that his uncle Lantenac, the royalist, has fallen into his power. The young soldier's struggle between love and admiration for his highminded relative, and duty toward the Republic, is described by the author with wonderful imaginative power; the chapter includes many well-placed antitheses and effective images, but this struggle between the 'pros' and 'cons' is continued through *twenty-seven* pages, and the reader wearies in spite of all the poetic beauty of language and thought.

V. Hugo's imaginative power shows itself especially in his frequent and strange personifications; no other poet has with equal spontaneity transformed inanimate objects, natural forces, and moral phenomena and ideas into living beings: walls pierced by cannon balls *agonize*; trees endeavor to *escape*; the battles which Napoleon fought *lean* over his brow as he is resting on his couch; haughty England *rests her elbow* on his bed; his victories, sculptured in marble, *make signs* with their fingers and *hear* the emperor weep: the tree in the forest *consents* to all beneficent uses at the hand of man; it is willing to become a plough-tail, a mast for the ship, a pillar for the house, a log on the fire-place; but "tree, wilt thou become a gallows?" "Silence, man! Away axe! I belong to life!" The cannon on ship-board, which has broken loose from its cable, becomes:



"a furious beast, a monster, *rushing* upon the sailors, now plunging forward, now retreating; now it stops and *meditates*, then it flies like an arrow across the deck, whirls about, rears, attacks, kills, exterminates . . . you can reason with a mastiff, stun a bull, charm a boa, frighten a tiger, soothe a lion; but nothing avails with this monster: you cannot kill it, it is dead; and at the same time it *lives*; it lives a sinister life. . ."

The passage is too long to be quoted in full; what has been given is about one-fifth of the whole. The author becomes intoxicated with his own metaphors, and the reader is stunned by their flow.

The purest abstractions assume in the poet's mind visible forms endowed with personal qualities; justice *bleeds*, nothingness *laughs*, the shade *cries*; so does the morning dawn; the infinite becomes a "horrible receding porch"; the shade, a "hydra of which the nights form the pale vertebrae." His mythological genius rivals with primitive man in the power of personifying natural forces and phenomena.

There is no denying that V. Hugo's rhetoric deserves all the criticism that has been passed upon it: redundancy, verbosity, bombast are only too common faults of his. And his vocabulary is often exasperating. Jules Lemaitre calls him the "greatest collector of words that has ever lived since the creation of the world"; according to Brunetière he is the "most wonderful verbal artist" and the "most extraordinary collector of rhymes and rhythms that France has ever seen;" and Faguet says: "His genius of enumeration is such as to get the better of all dictionaries."

And yet it is through his style that V. Hugo has exerted the greatest influence upon his age. In the political field and in the realm of thought he has accomplished little, though it be not denied that "from the early years of our century he has waged a moral warfare for human emancipation, for intellectual and political freedom." As a dramatist he has many superiors in French literature; he cared too little for historical and human truth, his characters are not living men and women; the lyric tone, so common in his dramas, the continual intervention of the poet himself, who endows his characters with his own imagination instead of letting them speak from their

hearts; the prevalence of social and moral extremes and of excessive sentiment, these and other faults cause the poet to fall short of his own ideals as set forth in his prefaces. Whatever success his plays have won—including the famous victory, so often told, which he and his lieutenants of the Romantic School carried off at the sound of Hernani's bugle—has been due mainly to the irresistible power of his language and the magic flow of his verse.

V. Hugo's epic and lyric poetry has left a stronger impress upon French literature than his dramas. The truly grand pictures of his first *Legend of Ages*; the epic portions of his novels, such as the description of the battle of Waterloo in *Les Misérables*, and among his later works the 'Battle of Sedan' in *L'Année terrible*, and the *Art of Being a Grandfather*, with its contrasts of infinite tenderness and wrathful indignation, establish V. Hugo's position as an "epic poet of the highest order and marvelous power." No hostile criticism can point out a greater master of word-painting, or one more skillful and original in description and narration.

His lyrics are of an endless variety and of very unequal merit. Often they are deficient in warmth of feeling, and the intimate relation, the perfect harmony, between thought and expression, is sometimes lacking: the amazing art of the versifier occasionally overwhelms or stifles the emotions of the genuine poet, and the resulting disproportion or incongruity produces a chilling effect upon the reader. The *Châtiments* is, perhaps, the only volume of the poet in which his power of feeling never falls short of his power of expression; but in these poems hatred is unfortunately the power that stirs the poet's soul.

Still, with all their shortcomings, his numerous lyrical compositions contain so much of the highest order, that few will deny V. Hugo the title of the greatest French lyricist. Modern French poetry received through him the strongest and most varied impulses: in place of the vague and abstract style of the pseudo-classic school he brought to it vigor, plasticity, and brilliancy.

"The modern 'realists' and 'naturalists' owe to him the perception of life and the taste

for describing all its manifestations; the 'par-nassiens' are indebted to him for the revelation of the plastic value of words; and the 'symbolists' and 'décadents' for the intuition of word-music and delicate harmony of sound and idea."

The revival of many old words long since passed out of use, and their introduction into modern literature; the new meanings given to familiar words and the new relations established between them; the countless new images created with a power far superior to that of any other French writer: the enrichment, by these means, of the language without doing it violence or departing from correct usage; in short, the invention of a style which was nothing less than a revolution in the French language—all this was undeniably achieved by Victor Hugo. To close with the words of an eminent critic of the day:

"Less original in thought and feeling than Lamartine, de Vigny, and Chateaubriand, Victor Hugo is more original in style than Lamartine, than de Vigny, than Chateaubriand, than Rousseau, than Mme de Sévigné, than Racine; and I only pause before the name of Lafontaine. He has created for himself a manner of diction in a language which had been existing as a literary language for four centuries, and which had been regenerated at least three times. It seems like a miracle!"

A. LODEMAN.

*Ypsilanti, Mich.*

#### THE RELATIONS OF THE EARLIEST

##### *Portuguese Lyric School with the Troubadours and Trouvères.*

IN his valuable treatise entitled *Ueber die erste Portugiesische Kunst- und Hofpoesie*, which was based on the study of the four hundred and thirty-seven Portuguese lyric poems then accessible in Varnhagen's edition of the Lisbon codex<sup>1</sup> and Moura's *Cancioneiro d'El-Rei D. Diniz*,<sup>2</sup> Diez, inquiring into the traces of Provençal influence on the Galecio-Portuguese poets, remarks:

"It will, however, hardly be possible to point out, in the productions of this poetic school thus far edited, poems or passages imitated or translated from the Provençal."

<sup>1</sup> *Trovas e Cantares de um codice do xiv seculo* . . . . . publicados por F. A. de Varnhagen, Madrid, 1849.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, 1847.

Though the respectable body of one thousand six hundred and thirty-three poems has since become accessible through the publication of the two Italian codices,<sup>3</sup> the opinion expressed by Diez in 1863 has lost comparatively little of its validity.

How, it is natural to ask, are we to explain that while the employment of certain poetic compositions and devices, and the terms assigned to them, are unmistakable proofs of the Provençal influence, the Portuguese poets do not appear to have closely imitated or reproduced either the structure or the contents of Provençal or French poems?

The constant state of unrest and unsafety in which the new kingdom of Portugal was kept during the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century by its incessant wars against the Moors and its Christian rival states Castile and Leon, did not permit the Portuguese kings and nobles to indulge in that life of ease and pleasure which is indispensable to the cultivation of music and song, and which alone could have tempted the foreign troubadours to visit their castles.

While we know that Count Philip of Flanders, one of the most famous knights of his time and a warm friend of the trouvères, on his second voyage to Palestine in 1177, visited the court of King Alphonse Henriques, whose daughter Theresa he married in 1181;<sup>4</sup> that the second king of Portugal, Sancho I (1185-1211), maintained at his court two French minstrels,<sup>5</sup> and that the infante Pedro of Aragon, who in the same year ascended the throne as Pedro II, in 1196 came to Coimbra to make peace between Portugal and Castile,<sup>6</sup> on which visit, enthusiastic and liberal friend of the troubadours as he was, he may have been accompanied by Provençal or Catalan singers, we have no evidence of the stay of any Provençal troubadours in Portugal, nor is this

<sup>3</sup> *Il Canzoniere portoghese della Biblioteca vaticana*, messo a stampa da Ernesto Monaci. . . . Halle, 1875.

*Il Canzoniere portoghese Colocci-Brancuti*, pubblicato nelle parti che completano il codice Vaticano 4803, da Enrico Molteni. Halle, 1880.

<sup>4</sup> A. Herculano, *Historia de Portugal*, i, p. 454.

<sup>5</sup> Mrs. Vasconcellos, in: *Grundriss der roman. Philologie*, ii, p. 172.

<sup>6</sup> Herculano, l. c., ii, pp. 70-1.



country ever alluded to by them.<sup>7</sup> It is well-known, however, that a number of the most prominent troubadours visited the neighboring courts of Castile and Leon from which latter kingdom Portugal had sprung.

At the court of Alphonse VII of Leon (1126-1157) we find Marcabrun<sup>8</sup> and Peire d'Alvernha (1157-8)<sup>9</sup>

Alphonse VIII of Castile (1158-1214), celebrated for his liberality, was visited by Aimeric de Pegulhan, Gavaudan, Guiherme de Cabestanh, Guiraut de Bornelh, Guiraut de Calanso, Peire Vidal, Peire Rogier, Rambaut de Vaqueiras, Ramon Vidal, Savaric de Mauleó, Uc de Mataplana and Uc de S. Circ.<sup>10</sup> As one of the five languages which Rambaut de Vaqueiras employed in the descort written between 1195-1202 at the court of Boniface I,<sup>11</sup> was in all probability intended to be Portuguese,<sup>12</sup> he must have been in contact with Gallego-Portuguese poets previous to 1194. Ramon Vidal, again, quotes in one of his poems a few lines which he attributes to a Castilian trobador. As we know that the Castilian trobadores of the time used the Galician dialect for their lyric compositions, and a portion of the passage in question has every appearance of belonging to that idiom, we are justified in assuming that these lines were meant to be Galician rather than Castilian.<sup>13</sup> In connection with several other circumstances to which attention has been called elsewhere,<sup>14</sup> the

<sup>7</sup> Excepting Marcabrun and Gavaudan. Cf. Mrs. Vasconcellos, *ibid.*, and Lang, *Das Liederbuch des Königs Denis*, p. xxiv.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. P. Meyer, *Romania*, vi, p. 123 seq. where Alphonse VIII must be corrected in Alphonse VII; Milá y Fontanals, *Los Trobadores en España*<sup>2</sup>, p. 83.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Milá y Font., *ibid.*, p. 81.—Mrs. Vasconcellos (l. c. p. 174) represents Aimeric de Pegulhan as having been at the court of Alphonse VII, but gives no proof for her statement. Nor is there any. A. de Pegulhan flourished between 1205-1270 (cf. Diez, *Leben und Werke der Troubadours*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 342 seq.; Milá y Font., l. c., p. 226), and was present at the battle of Las Navas in 1212. That he composed songs in praise of Alphonse VII (†1157), is therefore highly improbable.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Milá y Font., *ibid.*, pp. 122-132.

<sup>11</sup> O. Schultz *Die Briefe des Trobadors Raimbaut de Vaqueiras*, pp. 119-120.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Milá y Font., l. c., p. 542; Mrs. Vasconcellos, l. c. p. 173, note 1.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Milá y Font., l. c.; Mrs. Vasconcellos, l. c.

<sup>14</sup> *Das Liederbuch des Königs Denis*, pp. xxv-xxvii.

occurrence of Portuguese verse in the instances cited seems to show that the beginnings of the Gallego-Portuguese lyric school cannot have been later than 1175.

We know of at least one Gallego-Portuguese poet who was at the court of Alphonse VIII of Castile, and took a prominent part in the battle of Las Navas in 1212, at which most of the troubadours named above were present. This is Rodrigo Diaz de los Cameros,<sup>15</sup> who in the Index Colocci is credited with three poems which have not been preserved to us.

At the court of Alphonse IX of Leon (1188-1230) we find Elias Cairel, Guilherme Ademar, Guiraut de Bornelh, Peire Vidal and Uc de S. Circ.<sup>16</sup> These poets must have exercised a considerable influence on the development of the Gallego-Portuguese court-poetry since they met here a number of Portuguese noblemen, whose poetical compositions have partly been preserved to us. In consequence of the iniquitous policy of Alphonse II of Portugal (1211-1233), D. Gil Sanches, an illegitimate son of Sancho I; D. Gonçalo Mendes de Sousa, with his three brothers D. Garcia Mendes, D. Joam and D. Fernam Garcia, belonging to the most powerful family in Portugal at that time; Abril Peres de Lumiares, Martim Sanches and several others fled to Alphonse IX of Leon, remaining at his court until their reconciliation with the Portuguese king in 1219.<sup>17</sup> Of D. Garcia Mendes D'Eixo, we have (*Canzoniere Colocci-Brancuti*, 347) a poem in Provençal, wherein he expresses the wish of returning to his ancestral home, Sousa.<sup>18</sup> In the refrain of one of the love-songs of D. Fernam Garcia (with the surname Es-garavunha), also of the Sousa family, we find the following two French lines (CB., 227):

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Milá y Font., l. c., p. 126.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Milá y Font., l. c., pp. 153-5.—Mrs. Vasconcellos (l. c. p. 174, note 5) adds to these Aimeric de Pegulhan and Sordel, without giving any reasons for so doing. Neither Diez (*Leben und Werke*, p. 343) nor Milá y Font., l. c., nor P. Meyer (*Encycl. Brit.*, 9, p. 874) speak of Aimeric as staying at the court of Alphonse IX or of dedicating poems to this king. As to Sordel, he is not known to have been in Spain before 1230, and none of his allusions to the kings of Leon refers, as far as I am aware, to Alphonse IX. (Cf. Schultz, *Zeitschrift für rom. Philol.*, vii, 207-210.)

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Herculano, *Hist. de Port.*, ii, 212 seq.; 435, etc.; *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica, Scriptores* i, p. 202.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Mrs. Vasconcellos, l. c., p. 176 note 3.

Or sachiez veroyamen  
Que je soy votr 'ome lige.

Ferdinand III of Castile and Leon (1217-1252), whom his son Alphonse X, represents to us as a great friend of poetry and music,<sup>19</sup> entertained at his court the Provençal troubadours Ademar lo Negre, Elias Cairel, Guilherme Ademar, Guiraut de Bornelh and Sordel,<sup>20</sup> the last one of whom must have been in Leon between 1237 and 1241.<sup>21</sup> That Sordel's songs were especially esteemed and imitated by the Portuguese, we may infer from a direct mention of him—the only occurrence of the name of a Provençal poet in the Portuguese cancioneros—in a poem by D. Joam Soares Coelho, who according to Mrs. Vasconcellos (l. c., p. 199, note 5), was a favorite at the peninsular courts, and doubtless met Sordel at that of Ferdinand III of Castile. Other Gallego-Portuguese poets who may, with more or less certainty, be considered as having been the guests of this monarch, are Affons' Eanes de Cotom,<sup>22</sup> Pero da Ponte, who wrote a *planh* on the death of Beatrice of Suabia (†1236), and one on Ferdinand III (†1252),<sup>23</sup> and Bernaldo de Bonaval of whom, according to Alphonse X (*Canzoniere Vatic.*, 70), Pero da Ponte had learned the art of poetry.<sup>24</sup>

A considerable number of Provençal and Gallego-Portuguese poets met at the court of Alphonse X (1252-1284), the most illustrious patron of science and art, and himself one of the foremost lyric poets of the time. To the former belong Aimeric de Belenoi, Arnault Plagues, Bertran Carbonel, Bertran de Lamanon, Bonifaci Calvo, Folquet de Lunel, Guilherme de S. Didier, Guilherme de Monta-

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Milá y Font., l. c., pp. 153, 540.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Milá y Font., l. c. p. 154-5; Diez, *Leben u. Werke* 2 p. 113; O. Schultz, *Zeitschrift für rom. Philol.*, vii, p. 210.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. O. Schultz, l. c., pp. 207-210.

<sup>22</sup> According to a poem by Alphonse X (*Canz. Vat.*, 68), his literary legacy was wrongfully appropriated by Pero da Ponte.

<sup>23</sup> *Canz. Vat.*, 573 and 574.

<sup>24</sup> Mrs. Vasconcellos (l. c., p. 199) says that the Genoese Bonifaci Calvo was knighted by Ferdinand III and that his two Portuguese songs were inspired by his love for Berenguela, the king's niece. There is no authority for this but the unreliable statements of Nostradamus. Cf. in regard to Bonifaci Calvo the investigations of Schultz, l. c., pp. 225-6.

gnagout, Guiraut Riquier and Nat de Mons,<sup>25</sup> to the latter, Affons' Eanes de Cotom, Gil Perez, Conde (CB., 405), Gonçal' Eanes do Vinhal (*Canz. Vat.*, 1008), Joam Vaasquez (CB., 423), Pero Gomes Barroso (*Canz. Vat.*, 1057), Pay Gomes Charinho (*Canz. Vat.*, 1159) Pero da Ponte, Pedramigo de Sevilha (CB., 423), Joham Baveca (*Canz. Vat.*, 827) and Pero Mafaldo (CB., 387).<sup>26</sup>

Very few are the occasions known to us on which the Portuguese must have become acquainted with the lyric poetry of northern France. With the two exceptions mentioned above (c. 208), we have no record of the sojourn of a trouvère in Portugal; but a number of Portuguese went to France either for the purpose of studying or for political reasons. Thus in 1211, Prince Fernando fled from his brother Alphonse II (1211-1223) to his aunt, the Countess Mathilde of Flanders, marrying Johanna of Flanders and returning to Portugal in 1226.<sup>27</sup> Domingos Annes Jardo, the chancellor of King Denis, had been educated in

<sup>25</sup> Mrs. Vasconcellos (l. c., p. 173, note 3) mentions ten more troubadours as having either visited Alphonse X or dedicated poems to him, in regard to most of whom, however, the distinguished Portuguese scholar is in error. Neither the older nor the younger Bertran de Born could have been a contemporary of Alphonse X (cf. Diez, *Leben und Werke*, pp. 148 and 425; Milá y Font., l. c., p. 117). Of the latter we have a *serventes* relating to John Lackland (Rayn., *Choix*, iv, p. 199) and a *tenso* with Dalfi d'Alvergne (Bartsch, *Grundriss*, 119, 7). Peire Vidal flourished between 1170-1215 (cf. Diez, *Leben u. Werke*, p. 125) and none of his poems refers to Alphonse X (cf. Bartsch, in his edition of Peire Vidal, p. 15). Uc de Escaura was a contemporary of Vidal, whom he addresses in the only poem we possess of him (Rayn., *Choix*, v, p. 220). Paulet de Marselha, as far as is known (cf. Diez, *Leben u. Werke*, p. 473; Milá y Font., l. c., p. 241), did not visit the Castilian court, and among his seven extant poems, none is dedicated to Alphonse, only one ("Ab marrimen"), mentioning him in connection with the imprisonment of Prince Henry. Bartolomé Zorzi, finally, whom Mrs. Vasconcellos (l. c., p. 178) represents as having been at the Castilian court in 1269, was in Genoese captivity from 1266-1272. There is, as far as we know, no evidence that he was in Castile at all, nor does any one of his poems more than address in one passage King Alphonse in behalf of his imprisoned brother D. Henrique (cf. O. Schultz, *Zeitschr.* vii, p. 227-8).

<sup>26</sup> In my edition of the lyric poetry of Denis, Joam Ayra de Santiago is several times (pp. xxxiii, lxii, cxxxviii note 6) erroneously spoken of as a predecessor of Denis (see, however, *ibid.*, p. xl). In one of his poems (*Canz. Vat.*, 553) he appears to allude to Peter the Cruel of Castile (1350-1369) and to the Portuguese king of the same name.

<sup>27</sup> Herculano, *Hist. de Port.*, ii, pp. 142-3.

France and had taken his degree in canonical law in Paris.<sup>28</sup> Students of medicine went to Montpellier.<sup>29</sup> But far more important for our purpose is the fact that in 1238, if not as early as 1229,<sup>30</sup> Alphonse, a brother of Sancho II, went to his aunt Blanca of Castile, then the Queen-Regent of France, marrying in the same year Mathilde, Countess of Boulogne. During his sojourn at the French court, he was joined by a number of Portuguese nobles, who returned with him to Portugal in 1245. Prominent among these were Gomes Viegas, Pedro Ouriques da Nobrega, his son Joham Pires d'Avoym, Estevam Annes de Valladares and Ruy Gomes de Briteyros,<sup>31</sup> the last three of whom are known to us as poets. In the brilliant circles of the court of Blanca of Castile, for whom Guillaume de Lorris had written the celebrated *Roman de la Rose* (1237), Alphonse and his followers must have been profoundly impressed with the literary culture of France, and it is to be supposed that through them many of the conceits and forms of French poetry became known in Portugal. As an instance of such influence may here be cited the *gesta de maldizer* (*Canz. Vat.*, 1080) of the Portuguese Affonso Lopes de Bayam, which is written in the form of the *laisses monorimes* of the *chansons de geste*.

From what has been said it will be seen that, as far we know, the intercourse between the Portuguese and the troubadours and trouvères did not take place in Portugal, but at foreign courts, and that it could, therefore, in most cases be neither intimate nor of long duration. It is owing to this circumstance and the materially different social and intellectual conditions of western Spain, that the Gallego-Portuguese lyric school, though called into life through the example set by the Provençal troubadours, received its most characteristic features not from the latter, but from the national popular poetry then flourishing in Galicia and Portugal.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Moura, p. xv of his *Cancioneiro de D. Diniz*.

<sup>29</sup> The medical school of Montpellier is repeatedly alluded to in the Portuguese poetry of the time; as, for example, *Canz. Vat.*, 1116.

<sup>30</sup> Herculano, l. c. p. 367.

<sup>31</sup> Herculano, l. c., p. 387-8.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Mrs. Vasconcellos, l. c., p. 180.

The almost primitive simplicity of form and feeling which this popular poetry imparted to most of the poetic types adopted by the nascent literary school, the predominating employment of compositions of only three short stanzas in which the expression of the same idea in three synonymous variations is typical,<sup>33</sup> did not allow the Portuguese singers the scope necessary for producing the highly wrought strophic forms or the development of thought of the Provençal canzone. If in addition to this we consider that the ambition of faithful imitation or reproduction was foreign to the medieval author and that the lack of individuality which marks the subject-matter of the great body of the love-poetry of that time, renders it exceedingly difficult and often impossible to trace a conceit occurring in two authors to its real origin, we must be prepared not to find in the Gallego-Portuguese song literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the number of more or less close imitations of Provençal originals which the powerful influence exercised by the poetry of the troubadours on the literature of other nations might lead one to expect, and the existence of which in the courtly lyrics of northern France has been shown by Paul Meyer<sup>34</sup> and A. Jeanroy.<sup>35</sup>

That a more careful examination of the three Portuguese *cancioneiros* now accessible to us, and especially of the narrative and satirical forms contained in them, will nevertheless lead to the discovery of not a few compositions whose Provençal or French original is more or less clearly recognizable, may be inferred from the following few instances.<sup>36</sup>

Immediately after the passage quoted at the beginning of this article, Diez cites part of the following two stanzas of a poem by Martim Soares (*Trovas*, no. 54=CB., 151):

Desta coyta en que me vos teedes  
en que oj'eu vivo tam sem sabor,

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 153, 195: Lang, *Das Liederbuch des Königs Denis*, pp. xlvii seq. and cxxxv seq.

<sup>34</sup> *Romania*, xix, pp. 14 seq.

<sup>35</sup> *De Nostratibus medii aevi poetis qui primum lyrica Aquitaniae carmina imitati sint*. Paris, 1889.

<sup>36</sup> A number of such correspondences are pointed out in my edition of the lyrics of King Denis.



que farei eu pois me vos nom creedes ?<sup>37</sup>  
 que farey eu cativo pecador ?  
 que farey vivendo sempre ssy ?  
 que farei eu que mal dia nacy ?  
 que farei eu poys me nom valedes ?

E poys que des nom quer que me valhades,  
 nem queirades mha coita creer,  
 que farey eu, por des que mh o digades ?  
 que farey eu se logo nom moirer ?  
 que farei eu se mays a viver ey ?  
 que farei eu que conselh 'i nom ey ?  
 que farei eu que vos deseparades.

After remarking that these lines recall the following passage of Uc de S. Circ (Rayn., *Choix*, iii, 330):

Que farai ieu, domna, que sai ni lai  
 Non puesc trobar ses vos ren que bo m sia ?  
 Que farai ieu, qu'a mi semblon esm'i  
 Tug autre joy, si de vos no'ls avia ?  
 Que farai ieu, cui capdella e guia  
 La vostr' amors, e m siec e m fug e m pren ?  
 Que farai ieu, qu' autre joy non aten ?  
 Que farcei ieu, ni cum poirai guandir,  
 Si vos, domna, no m voletz aculhir ?

Diez concludes: "Aber die an den Stossseufzer geknüpften Gedanken sind andre, ausser etwa, dass *pois me vos non valedes* dem prov. *si vos no m voletz aculhir* entspricht."

Still, apart from the fact that the tone of the two poems is essentially the same, the regular repetition of the words *que farey* at the beginning of so many lines in both, leaves hardly any doubt that one must have served as a model to the other. This very Martim Soares, who was a contemporary of Uc de S. Circ, and noted as one of the best Portuguese poets,<sup>38</sup> uses the same artifice again (CB., 136), where most of the lines in the first and last stanzas begin with the negative *nem*. In a similar manner, Aimeric de Pegulhan (Rayn., *Choix*, iii, p. 429) begins five lines of the fourth stanza with *ni*. In both cases the poet utters complaints against the cruelty of his lady. The same beginning is found in the first three stanzas of a poem by Peire Cardinal (Rayn., *Choix*, iii, 438-9) who (*ibid*, iv, 341-2) repeats the conjunction *e* in the first two stan-

<sup>37</sup> This line is wanting in CB.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the note above CB., 116; and Lang, l.c., p. xxx.

zas, as does Martim Soares in CB. 131. As these Provençal poets flourished at the time when Martim Soares began his poetical career, we may not be so very wrong in supposing that he met them at one of the peninsular courts where they sojourned.<sup>39</sup> That Peire Cardinal, of whose visit to Leon or Castile we have no record, exercised some influence on the Portuguese poets, is shown by a *sir-ventes* of Martim Moxa<sup>40</sup> agreeing, as may be seen from the following extracts, in form as well as in subject-matter and expression, pretty closely with a poem by the Provençal troubadour especially celebrated for his satirical songs :

Vej 'avoleza  
 maleza  
 per sa soteleza  
 o mundo tornar.  
 Ja de verdade  
 nem de lealdade  
 nom ouço falar ;  
 ca falsidade  
 mentira e maldade  
 nom this dan logar.

Vej 'achegados  
 loados  
 de muitos amados  
 os de mal dizer

Tant es viratz  
 Lo mons en desmezura,  
 Que falsedatz

<sup>39</sup> Cf. also Raimbaut d'Aurenga, Rayn., *Choix*, v, p. 401.

<sup>40</sup> This is his name as regularly given in Colocci's Index (*Canz. Vat.*, p. xxi) as well as over his compositions. Without giving us her reasons, Mrs. Vasconcellos (l.c. p. 190) calls him M. de Moxa and assigns to him the date 1330. In a *cantiga d'escarnho* by Joam de Gaya (*Canz. Vat.*, 1062) we read: Comede migu' e dar-vos-ey cantares de Martin Moxa. The insertion of *de* would violate the metre. In one of his compositions (*Canz. Vat.*, 503), M. Moxa rails at a certain Maestr 'Açenzo, who for selfish purposes joined the king's faction and was interested in the surrender of a fortress. This appears to allude to the struggle between Sancho II and his brother Alphonse and the betrayal of a number of fortified places to the latter, which form the subject of a number of satirical compositions (for example, *Canz. Vat.*, 1088, 1090, 1183; CB., 434). In the absence of any proof to the contrary, it would therefore seem tolerably safe to assign Martim Moxa to the second quarter of the thirteenth century.

Es en luec de drechura,  
 E cobeitatz  
 Creys ades e melhura,  
 E malvestatz  
 Es en luec de valor  
 E pietatz  
 At d'hoste sofrachura,  
 E caritatz  
 Fai del segle clamor,  
 Et es lauzatz  
 Qui de dieu non a cura,  
 E pauc prezatz  
 Qui vol aver s'amor.<sup>41</sup>

Add to this a passage from another poem of Peire Cardinal:

Falsedatz e desmezura  
 An batalha empreza  
 Ab vertat et ab dreitura,  
 E vens la falseza;  
 E deslialtatz si jura  
 Contra lialeza;  
 E avaretatz s'atura  
 Encontra largueza.<sup>42</sup>

Both for subject and style, the following French motet (*Romania*, vii, p. 101) bears great resemblance to the passages just cited:

Ne sai ke je die,  
 Tant voi vilonnie  
 Et orgueil et felonnie  
 Monter en haut pris.  
 Toute cort(r) esie  
 S'en est si fuie  
 K'en tout cest siecle n'a mie  
 De bons dis, etc.

A humorous poem in which the same troubadour discards love, begins: Ar mi pues ieu lauzar d'amor.<sup>43</sup> This line opens a love-song of Martin Moxa's, (*Canz. Vat.*, 476), Amor, de vos ben me posso loar, and also the lai of Tristan and Iseu, CB., 1:

Amor, des que m'a vos cheguey  
 Bem me posso de vos loar.<sup>44</sup>

Many a medieval lyric poet sounds a note of warning and complaint against the false

<sup>41</sup> *Canz. Vat.*, 481; Rayn., *Choix*, iv, 350.

<sup>42</sup> Rayn., *Choix*, iv, 338.

<sup>43</sup> Rayn., *Choix*, iii, 438.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Jeanroy, *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France*, p. 316.

lovers, the *trichador*, *lausengier*, Portuguese *maldizente* (*Canz. Vat.*, 635) or *dizedor* (*Canz. Vat.*, 523)<sup>45</sup>. This theme is treated by the Portuguese Joham Baveca, (*Canz. Vat.* 699):

Os que non amam nem sabem d'amor,  
 fazem perder aos que amor am.  
 Vedes porque: quand 'ant 'as donas vam,  
 Joram que morrem por ellas d'amor;  
 e elas sabem poys que nom é sy.

E por esto perz 'eu e os que ben  
 lealmente amam segundo meu sen.

E aqueles que ia medo nom am  
 que lhis faza coyta sofrer amor,  
 veen ant 'elas e joram melhor  
 ou tam bem come os que amor am.  
 E elas nom sabem quaes creer

E por esto, etc.

This reminds one of Mathieu de Gand:<sup>46</sup>

Dame, ceus qui sont faus dedens  
 Et blanc dehors, ne creez mie;  
 Lor parole n'est fors que vens,  
 Car là on cuide cortoisie,  
 N'a à la fois fors trecherie;  
 Legierement croire est folie,  
 Car teus dira à la foie:  
 "Dame, morir croi por vos eus,"  
 Qui point n'iert d'amors souffraiteus.<sup>47</sup>

Thus Albertet, (Herrig's *Archiv* 34, 375) says:

Li tricheor qi sen fegnent damar  
 Font les leials agran dolor languir  
 E les dames en font mult ablasmar  
 Car amet cels qes gabent al partir  
 Donc sui ie fols qan ie ne sai fausar  
 Ne pois uiuer mon dannaie ni plaigna  
 Douza dame freit glaiues uos estaigna  
 Si me faites de parfонт sospirer.

and of Gaucelm Faidit:<sup>48</sup>

Las falsas e'l trichador  
 Fan tan que'l fin preyardor

<sup>45</sup> The meaning "redegewandter, witziger kopf" which Mrs. Vasconcellos (l. c., p. 195) attributes to this word, is not justified by the context of the poem which she cites. *Dizedor* is plainly used in the sense of *maldizente*.

<sup>46</sup> Scheler, *Trouvères belges*.... Bruxelles, 1876, p. 131.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. also Quenes de Bethune, Scheler, l. c., p. 19; Gilbert de Berneville, Mültzner, *Altfrs. Lieder*, no. xxxi.

<sup>48</sup> Rayn., *Choix*, iii, 296.

An pois dan en lur baratz ;  
 Qu'aital es preys tornatz  
 Tot per doptansa de lor,  
 Que l'us en l'autre no s fia.<sup>49</sup>

Another favorite subject of medieval love-poetry is the necessity of moderation, of measure, *mesura*, to every true lover, *fis amics*. This doctrine is the burden of two Portuguese poems, one by Joham Ayra de Santiago (*Canz. Vat.*, 541), and the other by King Denis (*Canz. Vat.*, 208). I shall here give the latter, as being the more characteristic :

Pero muito amo, muito nom desejo  
 aver da que amo e quero gram bem,  
 porque eu conheço mui entom e vejo  
 que de aver muito a mim nom me vem  
 tam gram folgança que maior nom seja  
 o seu dano d'ela; [e] quem tal bem deseja,  
 o bem de sa dama em mui pouco tem :

Mais o que nom é e seer pod[e]ria,  
 se fosse assi que a ela veeisse  
 bem do meu bem, [é que?] eu desejaria  
 aver o maior que aver podesse.  
 ca pois a nos ambos tiinha<sup>50</sup> proveito  
 tal bem desejado, faria dereito,  
 e sandeu seria quem o nom fezesse.

E quem d'outra guisa tal bem [desejar],  
 nom é namorado, mais é sem razom,<sup>51</sup>  
 que sempre trabalh'i por cedo cobrar  
 da que nom servio, o moor galar[dom];  
 asis<sup>52</sup> e de tal amor amo mais de cento,  
 e nom amo ùa de que me contento  
 de seer servidor de boom coraçom ;

Que pois me eu chamo e são servidor  
 gram treioçom s[er]ia se minha senhor  
 por meu bem ouvesse mal, ou semrazom.  
 E quantos bem amam, assi o diram.

As will be seen, several passages of this composition accord with parts of a *sirventes* by Guilherme de Montagnagout (Herrig's *Archiv*, xxxiv, pp. 200-1), in the close of which this troubadour praises his patron Alphonse X :

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Bern. de Ventador, *Choix*, iii, 85. Daude de Pradas, *Parnasse occit.*, p. 86.

<sup>50</sup> hi bisuha [*Canz. Vat.*; viinha], CB.

<sup>51</sup> I.s. from [*Canz. Vat.*, +] CB.

<sup>52</sup> da hi [*Canz. Vat.*, dam] CB.

Nuills hom noual ni deu esser presatz  
 si tant qant pot en valor no senten  
 Com deu valer segon qes sa rictatz  
 O sauida nonles mas aunimens  
 Doncs qui ben uol auar ualor ualen  
 Aia enamor son cor es esperanssa  
 Caramors fai far rics faitz dagradanssa  
 Efai uiure home adrechamen  
 E dona ioi etol tot marrimen.

Mas eu non teing que sia enamoratz  
 Cel qad amor uai ab galiamen  
 Car non ama ni deu esser amatz  
 Cel que sidonz prec de nuill faillimen :  
 Cãmans non deu uoler per nuill talen  
 Faich qasidonz tornes adesonranssa,  
 Camors non es res mas aisso cauanssa  
 So que ama eil uol ben leialmen  
 Eq in qier als lo nom damor desmen.

Pero anc mi nom sobret uoluntatz  
 Tant qieu uolgues nuill faich descouinen  
 Dela bella acui me sui donatz  
 Nim tenria nuill plazer per plazen  
 De ren calieis tornes auilimen  
 Nim poiria perren dar benananssa  
 De so calieis tornes amalestanssa  
 Car fis amics deu gardar perun cen  
 Mais de sidonz qel sieu enantimen.

Mas amans dreitz non es desmesuratz  
 Enans ama amesuradamen  
 Car entrel trop elpauc mesura aiatz  
 Estiers non es mesura so enten  
 Anz notz chascun aman ecar noi men  
 Segur estei e fraigna falsa usansa  
 Qeil fals aman menon la falsa amanssa  
 Car qui dreich sec dieus tot ben li cossen  
 Otart otemps siuals al finimen.

It is more probable, however, that some other Provençal or French poem, not known to us, may have inspired the poem of the Portuguese King.<sup>53</sup>

One of the most original Portuguese poets, D. Joham Garcia de Guilhade, assures the lady of his heart that he prefers to live and further endure his anguish than be relieved of it by death :<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Similar sentiments are expressed by Aimeric de Sarlat, (*Choix*, iii, 386), Jehans le Fontaine de Tournai (Miltzner, *Altfrz. Lieder*, no. xxviii), Gilebert de Berneville (*ibid.*, no. xxxi) and by Italian poets such as Ranieri di Palermo (Nannucci, *Manuale*, i, pp. 51-2, etc.).

<sup>54</sup> *Canz. Vat.*, 36.



Quantos am gram coyta d'amor  
e-no mundo qual oj'eu ey,  
querriam moirer, eu o sey,  
e averiam en sabor.  
Mais mentr' eu vos vir, mha senhor,  
sempre m'eu querria viver  
e atender e atender.<sup>55</sup>

Thibaut de Champagne (éd. Tarbé, 23, 15) professes the same sentiment in a strikingly similar manner:

Chascuns dist qu'il muert d'amors,  
mais je n'en quies ja morir.  
Miex aim sofrir ma dolors,  
vivre, et attendre, et languir.<sup>56</sup>

Vaasco Praga, de Sandim, declares in one of his songs, (CB., 73) that none but a madman trusts a woman:

E creo que fará mal sen  
Quem nunca gran fiuz 'ouver  
En mesura d'outra molher,

and the same thought is developed in a poem by Joham Lopes d'Ulhoa (CB., 294):

Mays foym' ela ben falar e rijr  
E falei-lh' eu e non a ui queixar  
nen se queixou porque a chamey senhor.  
E poys que me vyo muj coitado d'amor,  
prougue-lhi muyt'e non m'ar quis catar.

Should the lines just quoted not have been suggested by some such passage as the following by Quenes de Bethune (Scheler, l. c., p. 19)?

Fous est et gars qui a dame se torne,  
Qu'en lor amor n'a point d'afieiment:  
Quant la dame se cointoie et atorne,  
C'est por faire son povre ami dolent.

Rodrigu 'Eannes de Vasconcellos, one of the earliest Portuguese lyric poets, relates to us (CB., 314) a dialogue between himself and his lady-love, who, having been put in a convent, consoles her lover by saying that she is a nun only in appearance, not at heart. The first stanza, of which the other two are only graceful variations, may serve as an illustration:

Preguntey hũa don[a] en como vos direy;

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Pae Gomez Charinho, *Cans. Vat.*, 393.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Aubouin de Sezanne, Wackernagel *Altfrz. Lieder u. Leiche*, no. 12.—Cf. Jeanroy, *Origines, etc.*, pp. 318-319.

—Senhor, filhastes orden, e ja por en chorey.  
Ela entom me disse: Eu non vos negarey  
De com' eu filhei ordem, assy deus mi perdom:  
Fez mh a filhar mha madre; mais o que lhe farey:

Trager-lh' [ei]eu os panos, mays nom o coraçom.

This is a later variation of the so-called nun-song, a sub-species of the woman's song which, as Jeanroy points out,<sup>57</sup> was very common in the French lyric poetry of the middle ages, and of which traces are found in modern times. From France, this poetic form passed into Italy<sup>58</sup> and, it is to be supposed, also into Portugal. If so, the poem in question proves once more that the importation of certain kinds of the woman's song from France into Portugal did not, as Jeanroy would have it,<sup>59</sup> begin with the return of Alphonse, count of Boulogne, to his native country in 1245, but that it took place as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century. Though I know of no foreign nun-song which might have served as a model to our poem, I have thought it proper to call attention to it here, as it is the only representative of its kind in the Portuguese cancioneros.<sup>60</sup>

Pedramigo de Sevilha, an Andalusian minstrel who, as we have seen (cf. above, c. 212) was at the court of Alphonse X, where he doubtless became acquainted with Guiraut Riquier, is the author of a *pastourelle* in the most refined literary form, such as it was cultivated in the courtly poetry of France, of the Provence and of Italy.<sup>61</sup> On a pilgrimage to Santiago he meets, as he relates to us, the most lovely maiden he had ever seen. He asks her to accept him as her lover, offering her whatever present she might wish. She replies that by accepting his gifts, she might perhaps be the cause of grief to some other woman, who might call her to account for having estranged her lover from her. But for this fear, she adds, she might not be unwilling

<sup>57</sup> *Origines de la poésie lyrique*, p. 189.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Jeanroy, l. c., p. 191.

<sup>59</sup> L. c., pp. 337 seq.

<sup>60</sup> An allusion to the same subject is, however, made by D. Joam de Guylhade, *Cans. Vat.*, 37.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Jeanroy, *Origines*, pp. 129-134, etc.

to accept his attentions. The poet then succeeds in persuading her to yield to his entreaties.

There is a French *pastourelle* which, though in the form of a pure dialogue with the typical

Quand' eu hun dia fuy en Compostella  
en romaria, vi huna pastor  
que poys fuy nado, nunca vi tam bela ;  
nen vi a outra que falasse milhor.  
E demandilhê<sup>62</sup> logo seu amor,  
e fiz por ela esta pastorela.

Dix' eu logo: [Mha] fremosa donzela,  
queredes vos mim por entendedor?  
que vos darey boas toucas d[e] Estela,  
e boas cintas de Rrocador,  
e d'outras doas a vosso sabor,  
e fremoso pano pera gonella.

E ela disse: Eu nom vos<sup>63</sup> quera  
por entendedor, ca nunca vos vi

se nom agora, nem vos filharia  
doas que sey que nom som pera mi  
Pero cuid' eu se as filhass' assi,  
que tal a no mundo a que pesaria.

E se veess' outra, que lhi diria,  
se me dissesse ca: Per vos perdi  
meu amigu' e doas que me regia?  
Eu nom sey rem que lhi dissess' aly.  
Se non foss' esto de que me tem'i,  
nom vos dig' ora que o nom faria,

Dix' eu: Pastor, ssedes bem rrazoada  
e pero creede, se vos nom pesar,  
que nom est oj' outra no mundo nada,  
se vos nom sedes que eu sabha amar;  
e por aquesto vos venho rogar  
que eu seja voss' ome esta vegada.

E diss' ela come bem ensinada:  
Por entendedor vos quero filhar,  
e pois for a rromaria acabada,  
aqui du sôo natural do Sar,  
cuido se me queredes levar,  
ir-m'ey vosqu'e fico vossa pagada.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> *Demandi — demandei.* See Cornu, *Grundriss der rom. Philologie*, i, p. 802 note 2.

<sup>63</sup> Noa] *Cans. Vat.*

<sup>64</sup> *Cans. Vat.*, 689.

personages characteristic of this class of French poetry, in its train of thought as well as in its issue bears so close a resemblance to the composition of Pedramigo, that I am tempted to suspect him of having known it.

"Trop volentiers ameroie,  
ancor soie je bergiere,  
se loial ami trovoie."  
"he belle, oies ma prière:  
je vos ain pres a d'un mois."  
"he biaux Guios, tien toi cois,  
car je conois bien t'amie:  
ne me moke mie."

"Marot, j'ai, se deus me voie,  
toute autre amor mis arriere.  
por toi li mes cuers s'otroie."  
"et ke dirait Geneuiere  
ke tu baisas ier trois fois?"  
"ce ne fu fors que esbanois.  
douce gorgete polie,  
ne me moke mie."

"Guiot, se je le cuidioie,  
mon chapelet de fouchiere—  
par fine amour te donroie."  
"Marot, je t'ain par Saint Piere  
plus ke tot celles d'Artois."  
"he, Guiot, se tu m'an crois,  
dont moignons nos bone vie:  
ne me mocke mie."

"Marot, blanche corroie  
te donroie et aumoniere  
volentiers, se je l'avoie."  
"Guiot, ta belle maniere  
ma fait ke t'ains, c'est bien drois."  
"Marot, c'est un dous otrois,  
si que mes cuers t'an mercie.  
ne me mocke mie."

"Guiot, laisse dont la proie,  
si alons an la bruiere  
faire ceu c'amors nous proie.  
trop plus bel fait a l'oriere  
de ces pres selons ces bois.  
alons i dont, cuers adrois:  
je sui tous an ta bailie.  
ne me mocke mie."<sup>65</sup>

Jeanroy<sup>66</sup> has already called attention to the

<sup>65</sup> Bartsch, *Romances et Pastourelles*, pp. 166-7.

<sup>66</sup> *Origines*, p. 329.

striking correspondence between the following refrain occurring in a song of D. Joham de Guylhade (*Canz. Vat.*, 30):

Os olhos verdes que eu vi,  
me fazem ora andar assi,

and one in the Châtelain de Saint-Gilles:

En regardant m'ont si vair oil  
doné les maus dont je me dueil.

A similar correspondence exists between the refrain, *Canz. Vat.*, 1062:

Vos avede-los olhos verdes,  
e matar-m'edes con eles,

and a refrain in Raynaud, *Motets*, i, 75:

Quar bien croi que je morrai  
Quant si vair oel traï m'ont.<sup>67</sup>

The same poet, who treats the heroines of his woman's songs in a way entirely his own, represents one of his maidens as uttering a complaint over the decline of love and poetry in Portugal. As is well known, this was a favorite theme with the courtly poets of the thirteenth century (*Canz. Vat.*, 370):

Ay amigas, perdud' an conhocer  
quantos trobadores no reyno son  
de Portugal; ja nom am coraçom  
de dizer bem que soyam dizer,  
e sol nom falam em amor,  
e al fazem de que m'ar é peor:  
nom querem ja loar bom parecer.

Eles, amigas, perderom sabor  
de vos veeren; ar direy vos al:  
Os trobadores ja vam pera mal:  
nom ha i tal que ja servha senhor  
nem sol trobe per hũa molher.  
Maldita seja quem nunca disser  
a quem nom troba que é trobador.

Mais, amigas, conselho a d'aver  
dona que prez e parecer amar;  
atender temp' e nom se queixar,  
e leixar ja a vo-lo tempo perder.  
ca ben cuyd'eu que çedo verrá alguem  
que se paga da que parece bem,  
e veeredes ced' amor valer.

E os que ja deseparados som  
de nos servir, sabud' é quaes som;

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Jeanroy, l. c.

leixe os dès maa mor[te] prender.<sup>68</sup>

The main idea of this composition may have derived from some such passage as the following.

Thibaut de Champagne (Tarbé, 98):

Philippe, je vous demant  
Ce qu'est devenue amors.  
En cest país ne aillors  
Ne fait nus d'amer semblant,  
Trop me mervoil durement  
Quant ele demeure ainsi.

J'ai ot  
Des dames grant plaint  
Et Chevaliers en font maint.

Quenes de Bethune (Scheler i, p. 18):

Ja fu tels jors que les dames amaient  
De leal cuer sans faindre et sans fausser,  
Et chevalier large qui tout donnaient  
Por pris et los et par amors amer;  
Mais or sont il eschar, chiche et aver,  
Et les dames qui cortoisies estoient,  
Ont tot laissié por apenre à borser;  
Morte est amors et mort cil amoient.

Again, the complaint expressed at the end of the first stanza of D. Joam de Guylhade, that the appreciation and praise of feminine beauty had departed from the world, a complaint to which the same poet devotes a whole cantiga d'amigo, was in all probability suggested by a doubtless familiar French refrain (Bartsch, *Romances et Pastourelles*, 10):

Tout li amorous se sont endormi:  
Je suis belle et blonde, si n'ai point d'ami.  
And if our poet ends by wishing evil to those who have turned away from love, this may not have been without thinking of one of a number of French refrains expressing the same sentiment, such as (Bartsch, l. c., p. 200.)

Margueron, honie soit  
Qui de bien amer recroit.<sup>69</sup>

The first stanza of a *pastourelle* by D. Joam d'Aboym bears so striking a resemblance to one by Guiraut de Bornelh as to lead one to

<sup>68</sup> Similar literary variations of the traditional type of the woman's song are found in John Gower's ballads (Stengel, *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, vol. lxxv, pp. 14-5).

<sup>69</sup> Similar refrains are given by Jeanroy, *Origines, etc.*, p. 395; and G. Paris, *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge*, p. 55.



suspect imitation on the part of the Portuguese poet. Like his Provençal predecessor, he tells us that while journeying one day, he was attracted by the song of three maidens who were lamenting over the decline of true love<sup>70</sup> (*Canz. Vat.*, 278):

Cavalgaua noutro dia  
per hun caminho frances,  
e huna pastor siia<sup>71</sup>  
cantando con outras tres  
pastores, e non vos pes,  
e direy-vos toda uya  
o que a pastor dizia  
aas outra[s] en castigo:  
nunca molher crea per amigo,  
poys ss'o meu foy e non falou migo.

(Mahn, *Werke*, i, 206):

Lo douz chans d'un auzelh  
Que chantav'en un plays  
Me desviet l'autr'ier  
De mon camin, e m trays.  
E justa 'l plaissaditz,  
On fon l'auzels petitz,  
Planhion en un tropel  
Tres tozas en chantan  
La desmezur' e'l dan  
Qu'an pres joys e solatz.

One of the essential qualities of a true lover is reticence. He must not let anyone know who the lady of his heart is. This principle is the subject of a number of Portuguese songs. Thus Fernam Gonçalves de Seabra says (CB. 337):

Muitos vej 'eu que con mengua de sen  
am gram sabor de me dizer pesar;  
e todo-los que me veen preguntar:  
qual est a dona que eu quero ben,  
vedes que sandec' e que gram loucura:  
nen catam deus nen ar catam mesura,  
nen catam mi a quen pesa<sup>72</sup> muit 'en.  
Nen ar catam como perden seu sen  
os que m' assy cuidam a enganar,  
e [que] non o podem adevjnhar.  
Mais o sandeu quer diga mal quer ben,  
e o cordo dirá sempre cordura:  
des y eu passarey per mha ventura,  
mais mha senhor non saberam per ren, etc.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Jeanroy, *ibid.*, p. 133.

<sup>71</sup> *Canz. Vat.*,] sua.

<sup>72</sup> Queor pela] CB., qnõ pesa] CV.

This recalls a stanza of Arnaut de Maruel (Mahn, *Werke*, i, p. 158):

Aitan se pert qui cuia plazers dire  
Ni lausengas per mon cor devinar,  
Qu' atressi ben e mielhs m'en sai defendre,  
Qu 'ieu sai mentir e remanc vertadiers:  
Tal ver y a qu' es fals e messongiers;  
Car qui dis so per qu' amor avilzis,  
Vas si dons ment e si mezeis trahis.

Martim Soares expresses himself in a way which reminds one of a passage in Thibaut de Champagne (CB. 133):

Muitos me veem preguntar.  
mha senhor, a quem quero bem,  
e nom lhis quer' end 'eu falar  
con medo de vos pesar em,  
nem quer' a verdade dizer,  
mais juro e faço-lhis creer  
mentira por vo-lhis negar.

E por que me veem coitar  
do que lhis nom direi por rem,  
ca m'atrev' en vos amar;  
e mentr' en nom perder o sem,  
nom vos en devedes a temer,  
ca o nom pod' ome saber  
por mim se nom adevinhar.

E se por ventura assi for  
que m'er pregunten des aqui  
se sodes vos a mha senhor  
que am' e que sempre servj:  
vedes como lhis mentirei:  
d'outra senhor me lhis farei  
ond 'aia mais pouco pavor.<sup>73</sup>

Thibaut de Champagne (Tarbé, p. 45):

Aucuns i a, qui me suelent blamer  
Quant je ne di à qui je suis amis,  
Mais ja, Dame, ne saura mon penser  
Nus, qui soit nés, fors vous qui je le dis  
Couardement, à pavours, à doutance:  
Dont puestes vous lors bien à ma semblance  
Mon cuer savoir.

The last stanza of the Portuguese piece may be compared with one of Uc de Brunet (*Choix*, iii, p. 317), where the poet also says that in order to conceal his true love, he will pretend to love another:

Ja lausengier no l'en fasson duptansa,

<sup>73</sup> The same beginning and general train of thought is found in a composition by Pero d'Armea (*Canz. Vat.*, 677).

Qu'ieu n'ai vas els pres engienh et albire,  
 Qu'ieu bais los huelhs, et ab lo cor remire,  
 Et en aissi cel lur ma benenansa,  
 Que nulhs no sap de mon cor vas ont es,  
 Ans qui m'enquier de cui se fenh mos chans,  
 Als plus privat estau quetz'e celans,  
 Mas que lor fenh de so que vers non es.

The leading thought of a poem by D. Joam d'Aboym (*Canz. Vat.*, 279), the trusty Chancellor of Alphonse III, and one of the partisans of this prince during his sojourn in France, is contained in the refrain:

Nom sabem tanto que possam saber  
 qual est a dona que mi faz morrer.

This answers to a doubtless popular French refrain occurring in Baydouin de Condé (éd. A. Scheler, v. 2991):

Ja par moi n'iert noumée  
 Cele cui j'ai amée.

In a cantiga d'amigo by Joam Lopez de Ulhoa (*Canz. Vat.*, 300), a maiden laments having lost her lover through her obduracy and resolves to comply with his wishes if he return:

Ja eu sempre mentre uyua  
 for, uiuerey mui coyada  
 por que se foy meu amigo  
 e fui eu hy muit' errada,<sup>74</sup>  
 por quanto lhi foy sanhuda  
 quando se de mi partia.  
 Par deus, se ora<sup>75</sup> chegasse,  
 co el muy leda seria.  
 E tenho que lhi fiz torto  
 de me lh' assanhar doado  
 pois que mh o nom merecéra,<sup>76</sup>  
 e foy-sse por en coitado;  
 por quanto lhi fui sanhuda, etc.

El de pran que esto cuyda  
 que está<sup>77</sup> migo perdudo;  
 ca se non, logo verria;  
 mais por esto m' é<sup>78</sup> sanhudo,<sup>79</sup>

<sup>74</sup> *Canz. Vat.*] mui cerrada.

<sup>75</sup> *Canz. Vat.*] se ora se ora.

<sup>76</sup> *Canz. Vat.*] m'cera.

<sup>77</sup> *Canz. Vat.*] est.

<sup>78</sup> *Canz. Vat.*] estome.

<sup>79</sup> It will be noticed that in this poem the trochaic catalectic tetrameter is broken into two short lines, a form occurring about thirty times in our cancioneros, and, as is well known, common in the Cantigas de Santa Maria of Alphonse X.

por quanto lhi fui sanhuda, etc.

The subject of this song, especially in the refrain, reminds one very strongly of an Old-French chanson de femme, of which the first two stanzas will be given here:<sup>80</sup>

Lasse, por quoi refusai  
 celui qui tant m'a amée?  
 Long tens a a moi musé  
 et n'i a merci trouvée.  
 Lasse, si très dur cuer ai!

Qu'en dirai?  
 Forsenée  
 fui, plus que desvée  
 quant le refusai.

G'en ferai  
 droit a son plesir,  
 s'il m'en daigne oïr.

Certes, bien me doi clamer  
 et lasse et maleürée  
 quant cil ou n'a point d'amer  
 fors grant doucor et rosée  
 tant doucement me pria

et n'i a  
 recouvrée  
 merci: forsenée  
 fui quant ne l'amai.

G'en ferai, etc.

D. Afonso Sanches, a natural son of King Dionysius, sings (*Canz. Vat.*, 17):

Muytos me dizem que servi doado  
 huna donzela que ey por senhor.  
 Dize-lo podem, mais, a Deus loado,  
 poss'eu fazer quen quiser sabedor  
 que non é ssi, ca, se me venha ben,  
 non é doado pois me deu por en  
 muy grand' affam e deseje e cuidado.

The idea here expressed that suffering is the reward of love, is a favorite theme of the Provençal troubadours. Thus Richard de Berbezill (Mahn, *Werke*, iii, p. 36) says:

Qu' Oviditz ditz en un libre, e no i men,  
 Que per sofrir a hom d'amor son grat.

And Perdigon (Rayn., *Choix*, iii, p. 344):

Ben aiol mal e l'afan el cossir  
 Qu'ieu ai sufert longamen per amor,  
 Quar mil aitans m'en an mais de sabor  
 li ben qu'amors mi fai aras sentir.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Published by Jeanroy, *Origines*, etc., p. 501, no. xxi.

<sup>81</sup> Bartsch, *Romances et pastourelles*, iii, 33.

The same Portuguese troubadour represents the beauty of his lady to be such that if any one met her in the inferno, the joy of seeing her would make him forget all his sufferings (*Canz. Vat.*, 22):

Sabedor

soo d'atanto, par Nostro Senhor,  
que s' ela uir e o seu bem parecer,  
coita nen mal outro non poss'auer  
e-no inferno se con ela for;  
desy sey que os que jazem alá,  
nenhu[u] delles ia mal non sentirá,  
tant 'aueram de a catar sabor.

The same image, only with more minuteness, had before D. Affonso Sanches been employed by a French poet, Gautier d'Espinaus (*Herrig's Archiv*, xliii, 299):

Je seux ensi con cil ki est ou feu,  
ou les armes sen uont por espurgier,  
Ki airt toz uis et si ne sent dolor,  
por la grant ioie kil en atent du ciel.  
Por moi lo di ien souffre grant tristor,  
Kensi pens ieu a sa tres fine amour,  
Ke iai tous mals oblieis.  
ie ne me plaing pais des mals.  
si mont greueit  
por la grant ioie ou ie bei.

D. Fernam Paaez, of Tamalancos in Galicia, takes leave of his lady, reproaching her with indifference and faithlessness (*Canz. CB.*, 48):

Con vossa graça, mha senhor  
fremosa, ca me quer' eu ir;  
e venho me vos espedir  
por que me fostes traedor.  
Ca avendo-mi vos desamor  
hu vos amey sempr' a servir,  
dès que uos ui, e des enton  
m'ouuestes mal no coração.

In very much the same manner, a Provençal troubadour sings (Appel, *Provenz. Inedita*, p. 294):

Tan fuy enves ma dona fis  
que fina la trobei, senhors;  
mas ara falh, sim brunezis,  
per quieu m'en vau mudan alhors.

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# MUTATION OF GENDER IN THE CANADIAN-FRENCH DIALECT OF QUEBEC.

As a slight contribution to the literature of gender-mutation, the following notes of examples occurring in the French dialect of Quebec may be of interest.

In assigning a gender to some of the words he has borrowed from the Indian, the French-Canadian halts between two opinions. Among the words of this class whose gender seems to vacillate are:

1. *Nigog*, or *nigogue*, a fish-spear. The word is in common use in the Acadian Gulf Region. Ferland (*Foyer Canad.*, 1865, p. 264), Taché (*Forestiers et Voyageurs*, p. 79), Le Moine (*Chasse et Pêche*, p. 258) make the word, whether spelt *nigog* or *nigogue*, masculine, but J. G. Barthe (*Souvenirs*, p. 118) has "La pêche au saumon au flambeau et avec la *nigogue*."
2. *Mocassin*. Dunn (*Glossaire Franco-Canadien*, s. v.), Marmette (*François de Bienville*, p. 263), Bourassa (*Jacques et Marie*, p. 91) and many others write the word as *mocassin* and make it of the masculine gender. Louis Fréchette (*Fleurs Boréales*, p. 44) uses this form also, but in the *Soirées Canadiennes* (1861, p. 177); we find "la légère *mocassine*," a spelling and gender known also from Chateaubriand.
3. *Tobogane*. Of this word the following forms with feminine gender are met with: *tobogane* (Dunn); *tabagane* (Ferland, *Hist. du Canada*, p. 113); *tabaganne* (Leclercq, *Relation de la Gaspésie*, 1691, p. 70); *Tabogine* (Lemoine, *Monographies et Esquisses*, p. 70). The masculine forms are: *tobagan*; *tobogan*.
4. *Wananish*, a trout found in Lake St. John. This word is spelt *oualamiche*, *walamiche*, *wananiche*, *wananish*, *wawanish*, *ouinaniche*, *winnoniche*, etc. The masculine gender is assigned it by Buies (*Le Saguenay*, p. 203), Lemoine (*Chasse et Pêche*, p. 26), but in the *Naturaliste Canadien* (Vol. viii, p. 77), the word is made feminine. Dunn notes the use of *argent* and *bol* as feminine, and of *dinde* as masculine. There seems to be a decided tendency to *femininize*.



Buies speaks of the *habitant's* love for this gender in the following terms:

"Et que dire du féminin! Oh! le féminin, quel rôle immense il joue chez le peuple canadien, évidemment le peuple le plus galant de l'univers! Non seulement il nous empoigne par les fibres les plus intimes de notre être, mais il nous empoigne encore par la langue dans presque tout ce que nous disons, et par les doigts à chaque mot que nous écrivons. C'est comme de la virgule; on en est envahi, entortillé, enlacé. . . . . Il paraît qu'il n'y a pas de remède à cette déman-gaison de la virgule. C'est aussi invétéré que 'une belle hôtel, de la bonne argent, une grande escalier, une grosse oreiller, une large intervalle, une bonne appétit, une bonne estomac, la grande air, une grande espace, . . . etc., . . . . Je pourrais en citer comme cela des mille et des mille sans jamais arriver au fond de cet abîme d'amour du féminin qui, combiné avec celui de la virgule mal placée, nous expose aux déconvenues les plus grotesques auprès des jolies femmes instruites qui ne tolèrent pas de se voir mises au même genre qu'un escalier, ou un oreiller."

Lusignan<sup>2</sup> records the following instances of the *feminine* substituted for the *masculine*:

1. *Ballustre*. "Un Journal sérieux raconte un miracle. Une paralytique . . . . . laisse ses béquilles aux pieds de la *ballustre* (p. 22)."
2. *Chlorure*. "Que de gens demandent à tort de la *chlorure* à leur pharmacien!" (p. 47).
3. *Comices*. "*Comices* est du masculin. On écrit donc à tort les *comices municipales*, ainsi que je l'ai lu dans un journal de la campagne" (p. 138).
4. *Décombres*. "Le journal d'Ottawa qui a dit 'des *décombres sociales, religieuses et morales*' a fait une grosse faute, *décombres* étant du masculin" (p. 100).
- 5-13. *Episode*, etc. "*Episode* se rencontre quelquefois au féminin dans les journaux. Il est masculin, de même que les mots suivants, presque toujours féminisés par le peuple: *escalier, oreiller, espace, intervalle, argent, emplâtre, éventail, incendie*" (p. 100).
14. *Esclandre*. "*Esclandre* a été du féminin, nous dit Littré; et des écrivains

<sup>1</sup> *Anglicismes et Canadienismes*, Québec, 1888, pp. 14-15.

<sup>2</sup> *Fautes à Corriger*. Une chaque jour. Québec, 1890, xxvi, 179 pp.

contemporains, Scribe et Soulié entre autres, l'ont fait de ce genre. Mais la règle est admise qu'il est aujourd'hui du masculin, conformons-nous-y" (p. 133).

15. *Insigne*. "Un journal annonce que 'les camarades du général B. lui ont présenté une *insigne* de la légion d'honneur', et que '*cette insigne* est faite de diamants,' Comme d'autres journaux partage son erreur et font *insigne* du féminin, je tiens à les détromper" (p. 98).

Concerning mutations from feminine to masculine Buies says:

"En revanches et comme manière de compensation (une légère infidélité) il y a certains mots féminins que l'on trouve invariablement écrits au masculin dans nos journaux. Ainsi, par exemple, de *panacée*, s. f. qu'il est impossible de voir employé autrement qu'au masculin, et écrit *panacé*. Ainsi encore d'*atmosphère* que l'on met presque toujours au masculin, sans doute pour se venger d'*intervalle*, et d'*espace* qui persistent à rester masculins avec une forme féminine" (p. 16).

Lusignan cites the following feminines often found in the masculine:

1. *Atmosphère*. "Il y a un mot dont l'usage est si fréquent que je ne comprends pas que des journalistes ignorent son genre; c'est le mot *atmosphère*. Nous disons ou entendons dire tous les jours que l'*atmosphère* est bas, pesant, vicié, tandis qu'il faudrait mettre ces adjectifs au féminin" (pp. 50-51).
2. *Circulaire*. "*Circulaire* est du féminin; la plupart des marchands et des commis le font cependant du masculin" (p. 149).
3. *Cretonne*. "La *cretonne* est une toile qui a la chaîne de chanvre et la trame de lin; elle est fort connue et employée au Canada, mais on a le tort assez général de la faire du genre masculin et de dire du *cretonne*" (pp. 111-112).
4. *Crique*. "On a tort d'appeler un ruisseau un *crique*. En fait d'eau, *crique* ne signifie pas autre chose qu'une petite baie, une petite anse dans les anfractuosités du rivage. Ce mot est du genre féminin" (p. 62).
5. *Offre*. "On a le tort assez général de faire *offre* du genre masculin; on doit

pourtant dire et écrire: on m'a fait *une belle offre, une offre avantageuse*" (p. 66).

6-7. *Sud-Amérique. Nord-Amérique*. "Dites *la* et non *le* Sud-Amérique, Nord-Amérique: le genre de l'article est imposé par celui du continent et non par celui du point cardinal" (p. 139).

8. *Tarière*. "J'ai lu je ne sais plus dans quel journal l'annonce d'un ferronnier commençant ainsi: A l'enseigne *du gros tarrière*. Il aurait fallu *de la grosse tarrière*. *Tarière* est féminin, et sa première syllable s'écrit sans *r*" (pp. 59-60).

9. *Tondre*. "Il n'y a pas cent personnes dans le pays qui dirait: 'J'ai allumé ma pipe avec *de la tondre*.' Tout le monde dit *du tondre*, et tout le monde a tort. *Tondre* est féminin" (p. 7).

In the word-lists given by Prof. Geddes<sup>3</sup> in his study of Acadian dialects occur a number of cases of gender-mutation which are here presented, arranged under appropriate heads.

I. Masculine for feminine: *gaye* (452).

II. Feminine for masculine: *âge* (456), *argent* (451), *automne* (10), *enterrement* (9), *escalier* (452), *espace* (457), *étage* (452), *hiver* (10), *orage* (453), *poison* (101).

An interesting study upon which the present writer has been for some time engaged is that of the French Element in the "Chinook Jargon" or "Oregon Trade Language." Even here the tendency to feminization is discernible, as the following curious word given by Mr. Hale in his *Manual of the Oregon Trade Language* (London, 1890), shows:

"*Latla*, French [latlá], noise (French *faire du train*, to make a noise)," p. 47.

On the other hand we find:

"*Lebal*, French [libál], ball, bullet" (p. 47), which associates itself with the borrowed masculines in *le* (*li*)—also "*lepome* [lipóm], apple (p. 47); "*lemah* [limà], hand" (p. 47); *lemel*, mule (p. 58). *Lepome* and *lemah* may, possibly, be plurals, however.

Sufficient has been noted here to indicate the frequency of gender-mutation and to suggest the need of making this a special point of

<sup>3</sup> "Two Acadian French Dialects Compared with the Dialect of Ste. Anne de Beaupré," i, MOD. LANG. NOTES vol. viii, 449-459; ii, vol. ix, 1-11; iii, vol. ix, 99-115.

inquiry in the investigation of Canadian-French dialects.

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#### SOME NEW NOTES ON SIDNEY'S POEMS.

RAWLINSON MS., Poetic 85 is known to editors of early Elizabethan poetry as the most authentic source of some of Sidney's, Oxford's, Breton's, and others' poems, as well as of nearly all of Edward Dyer's, but by some oversight editors using it have passed unnoticed some poems which undoubtedly (so far as the authenticity of any Elizabethan poems is undoubted), belong to Sidney, though unsigned or signed by other persons. These copies give interesting if not important new readings. The editors have also passed by the first two stanzas of a pretty lyric which on the authority of this manuscript is included in Sidney's works. Besides these there are a number of unsigned poems, most of which I have not succeeded in tracing to any author or other collection. Many of these are of considerable beauty and quite worth being rescued from their oblivion, but the treatment of these waifs is somewhat outside the object of this paper.

The date of the manuscript is a most important matter in deciding the value of its text. The catalogue of the Rawlinson MSS. says, "written late in the sixteenth century." This is scarcely so definite as I could wish, but I am not able after some study to be very much more so, at least not conclusively. The well-known fact that poems circulated widely in manuscript form for years before they saw print, complicates the matter. One must start with the ever-present guard that these may have been copied from the manuscript poems circulated among the authors' friends, or, in equal likelihood, from the later printed works.

This manuscript is one of those neatly-written private anthologies common at that time, of which a number are preserved. Two things are to be noticed about this one; first, that the style of writing, color of ink, and general appearance are practically uniform all through the two hundred and fifty pages. This makes

it probable that no long time elapsed between the writing of the first and last pages. The second is, that almost all of the writers represented belong to the so-called "court school." They are Sidney, Dyer, Greville, Oxford, Breton, Raleigh, Spenser and others of the Areopagus ilk. This gives color to the belief that the owner of the book was in touch with this school. These men did most of their work between 1578 and 1594. I am strongly inclined to put the date of the manuscript at 1590 or soon after.

Another point to be noticed in the book is that each poem (except a few fragments in the latter part, apparently attempts of the owner) has at the end "finis," the author's name if it is signed, and some fancy penwork-flourishes. This seems to show that the writer used much care, and that therefore mistakes in signatures are not due to his haste but to mistakes in his original. It seems also to make the use of manuscript originals probable, for, had he copied from a volume of a poet's works, he would scarcely have written another poet's name under the copies. The numerous text differences support this theory. All this leads to the probability that he wrote before the sudden outpouring of the printed works of his poets which began in the early years of the '90's. This is my strongest reason for placing it in 1590.

Perhaps it would be best here, before entering into the relation of the manuscript to Sidney's poems, to run over the dates of his works. He wrote the greater part in the years adjacent to 1580. He died in 1586. The first quarto of the *Arcadia* (1590) is supposed to be his earliest appearance in print; but, in fact, I have recently found two of the *Astrophel and Stella* songs, the Sixth and the Tenth, set to music and published in William Byrd's song-books, *Psalms, Sonets and Songs*, 1588, and *Songs of Sundrie Natures*, 1589. The *Astrophel and Stella* appeared in 1591 when it went through at least two editions. In 1598 Sidney's sister, the Countess of Pembroke, edited all his main works (except translations), adding some hitherto unpublished poems under the title of *Certaine Sonets*. This folio text is the basis of most later editions.

There are twenty-two of Sidney's poems in

this Rawlinson manuscript, if we accept as his all those included in Dr. Grosart's edition, which is the only collected edition. Of these twenty-two, fourteen are signed with Sidney's full name or initials. Five are unsigned, two have mistaken signatures, one has "Incertus author." It is not improbable that some others in the book are Sidney's, but no one of them is so strikingly in his vein that I feel justified in attributing it to him.

Eight of the Sidney poems are from the *Arcadia*, nine are from the *Certain Sonets* of the 1598 folio, two are included in Dr. Grosart's collection solely on the authority of this manuscript, and the remaining three are from the songs of the *Stella* cycle.

The remarkable fact at once strikes one that there are none of the *Stella* sonnets. The author of the manuscript apparently liked sonnets. He has copied a number of them. He has pretty good taste too. The only conclusion is that he did not have access to the *Stella* cycle, that it was unknown to him. Yet he seems to have known the songs which are printed among the sonnets for he has copied three of them. Does this imply that the songs were known and circulated in MS. form separately from the sonnets? If so, this may throw light upon the reason why the songs were printed in group after the sonnets in the '91 quarto, but in the '98 folio were scattered among the sonnets in the Italian fashion. It is not unreasonable to believe that these eleven songs were first as a whole connected with the sonnets by the editor of the First quarto, who getting hold of the cycle in manuscript form, hunted up such other of Sidney's poems, that had not appeared in the *Arcadia* of the previous year, as he could find, and added them as a supplement (which was followed by another set by other poets); that the Countess of Pembroke, remembering her brother's admiration for Italian models, arranged them among the sonnets. Support is given to this conjecture by the fact that four of the songs have apparently no stronger vital connection with the sonnets than some other songs which were printed in the *Certaine Sonets*. (Those which Dr. Grosart collects under the title of "Sidera" in Vol. ii. of his 1877 edition, and which Mr. Pollard adds to his fine edition of

the *Astrophel and Stella*, 1888).

The absence of any of the copyist's usual marks of termination after two stanzas at the bottom of fol. 25<sup>b</sup> caused me to notice that the two are really part of the poem which occupies the following page (fol. 26). In form and matter the two parts are identical and there is no doubt that they belong together. The poem, which is signed "S.P.S." on fol. 26 was first published in Wood's *Athenae Oxoniensis* in 1691-2, and was taken from this MS., but began with the stanza at the top of fol. 26, omitting the first two, by over-sight, I suppose. Dr. Grosart in his edition followed Wood instead of referring to the source, so it happens that these two stanzas have never been published in Sidney's works. The poem, which may be found in Bliss's *Wood's Athenae Oxon.*, Vol. i., p. 525, and Grosart ed. of Sidney, Vol. ii., p. 37, is as follows (with the two stanzas, the first and second, in place).

At my harte there is a paine,  
Never payne so pinchte my harte,  
More than halfe with sorrow slayne,  
And the payne yet will not parte.

Ah, my harte, how it doth bleede  
Into dropps of bitter teares.  
Whyle my faythfull love doth feede,  
But one fancy onlye feares.

Ah poore Love whi dost thou live,  
Thus to se thy service lost?  
Ife she will no comforte geve,  
Make an end, yeald up the goaste;  
That she may at lengthe aprove  
That she hardlye long beleved  
That the harte will dye for love  
That is not in tyme relieved.  
Ohe that ever I was borne,  
Service so to be refused,

"All my sences stand amazéd  
While mine eyes too long have gazéd  
On a faire and heavenlic creature  
Half an angell for her feature."

(First stanza of no. 26, p. 22, section t, Vol. i., of Gros. ed. of Breton).

"Blind alas it is no wonder  
Bewtie breaks the sight asunder,  
Never hart that once dyd eye her  
But was feareful to come nye her."

(In No. 26, p. 22, sect. t, Vol. i., Gros. ed. of Breton).

Faythfull love to be foreborne!  
Never love was to abused.

But swet Love, be still a whylle;  
She that hurte thee, Love maye healle thee;  
Sweet, I see within her smylle  
More than reason can reveale thee.

For, thoughe she be riche and fayre,  
Yet she is bothe wise and kynde,  
And therefore do thou not despayre,  
But thy faythe may fancy fynde,

But curiously enough Dr. Grosart himself has printed the whole poem, just as I have given it, in the works of another author. In his elaborate edition of Nicholas Breton's Works, (Chertsey Worthy Library), Vol. i, section t, page 18, no. 16, it occurs, being placed there on the authority of a manuscript lately in the possession of a Mr. Cosens of London. I gather from Dr. Grosart's account of the manuscript that the first thirty poems in it are signed N. B., but that the rest are unsigned, and that this poem is in the latter class. Dr. Grosart, on the authority of propinquity I presume, has swept these unsigned poems into the drag-net of Breton's works. I myself am convinced on grounds of internal evidence, that some others of these unsigned poems are Sidney's, for there are certain intangible delicacies of phrasing and cadence peculiarly Sidneian, which I have never found anywhere outside of Sidney's recognized poems except in a few of these. Examples are his constant use of the feminine rime, and trochaic meter in songs, thus giving them a ringing, singing verve. Except in these doubtful ones (and in another set of doubtful ones of which I will speak later), Breton does not use these modes or at least uses them very rarely. But a few extracts will be more to the point.

"All my sense thy sweetnes gainéd  
Thy faire haire my heart enchainéd  
My poore reason thy words movéd  
So that thee like heaven I lovéd."

(First stanza of no. xx, p. 63, Vol. ii. of Gros. ed. of Sidney).

Have I caught my heav'nly jewell  
Teaching Sleepe most faire to be,  
Now will I teach her that she  
When she wakes is too . . . too cruel.

(Second song, Vol. i., p. 155 of Gros. ed. of Sidney).



Another poem in this section (No. 22, page 20) bears a noticeable similarity of thought to the six sonnets of the Stella cycle which are best entitled "How to write sonnets" (Nos. i.,

iii., vi., xv., xix., xxviii.). The whole would be too long to quote here, but I subjoin the first three stanzas of the supposed Breton poem and a few lines from the sonnets.

"Some men will say there is a kind of muse  
That helps the mind of each man to endite  
And some will saie (that many Muses use)  
There are but nyne that ever usde to wryte.  
Nowe of these nyne if I have gotten one,  
I muse what Muse it is I hitt upon.

Some poets write there is a certain hill,  
Where Pallas keepes, and that Parnassus hight.  
There muses sitt forsooth, and cut the quill  
That being framde doth hidden fancyes write  
But all those dames do heavenly causes singe  
And all their pennes are of a Phoenix winge.

But as for me I never sawe the place  
Except in sleepe I dreame of such a thinge.  
I never viewde dame Pallas in her face,  
Nor ever yet could hear the muses singe,  
Wherby to frame a fauncy in such kinde,  
Oh no, my muse is of another mynde."

"Let daintie wits  
crie on the  
Sisters nine"  
(III)

"Some lovers speake  
when they their  
Muses entertain"  
(VI)

"You that do search  
for everie purl-  
ing spring  
which from the ribs  
of old Parnassus  
flowes."  
(XV)

"For me, in sooth,  
no Muse but  
one I know."  
(III)

I am strengthened in this conviction of the Sidney authorship of these unsigned poems, by similar cases in another selection of Dr. Grosart's edition of Breton. The section is a reprint of *An Arbor of Amorous Devices*, a miscellany of 1597, bearing the initials "N.B." on the title page, of which book the only extant copy is in the Capell collection of the Trinity College Library at Cambridge. One poem which Dr. Grosart reprints is undoubtedly Sidney's. It is the *Arcadia* poem, "The fire to sea my wrongs for anger turneth" (Gros. ed. Sidney, Vol. ii., p. 247; 1598 *Arcadia*, p. 289). If one is Sidney's, why not more? There is one incomplete sonnet which seems to me peculiarly interesting when connected with this possibility. It appears to be an early attempt of his, the initial line of which developed into that glorious "Valedico" sonnet which is one of the treasures of English literature. Any one who has ever written poetry will remember how a good line in a weak poem will cling in the memory and be the germ from which a quite different and far better one develops. This seems to be the case here if we accept the poor wail as Sidney's.

It has a line of thought common in the Stella sonnets. Compare this from lxxii.

"Desire, though thou my old companion art  
And oft so clings to my pure love that I  
One from the other scarcely can descrie  
While each doth blow the fier of my heart ;

But thou, Desire, because thou wouldst have  
all  
Now banisht art, and yet, alas, how shall?"  
with the latter part of the wail which follows.

"Leave me, O life, the prison of my minde  
Since nought but death can take away my  
love,

For she which likes me wel is most unkinde  
And that which I love best my death doth  
prove.

Love in her eyes my hopes againe revives  
Hopes in my thoughts doe kindle my desires  
Desire inflamed through love and beauty  
strives

Til she (displeased with love) my death con-  
spires.

That love for me and I for love do call  
Yet she denies because she grants not all."

(Gros. ed. of Breton, vol. i, A. of A.D. section, p. 6).

The Sidney "Valedico" sonnet which may have developed from the preceding is

"Leave me, O Love, which reachest but to dust,  
And thou my mind aspire to higher things;  
Grow rich in that which never taketh rust;  
Whatever fades but fading pleasure brings.  
Draw in thy beams, and humble all thy might,  
To that sweet yoke where tasting freedoms be:  
Which breakes the clowdes and opens forth  
the light,  
That doth both shine and give us sight to see.  
O take fast hold, let that light be thy guide,  
In this small course which birth draws not to death  
And think how evill becommeth him to slide  
Who seeketh heaven, and comes of heavenly breath.

"And cast from me *part of my burdenous cares*"

But in *the sands* my *tales* foretold I find."  
(ll. 14 and 15 on page 176<sup>b</sup> of '90 quarto).

"*Both still do worke*, in neither find I rest."  
('90 quarto, pages 214, ll. 3).

In the long pastoral on pages 94<sup>b</sup>-96<sup>b</sup> of the '90 quarto, in line 42 occurs "serene," which the manuscript text makes "Syran," an emendation which would do away with the necessity of the explanatory note which Dr. Grosart has put to the passage in his edition, (Vol. ii. p. 199.). On the whole I do not think the manuscript variations of much value, yet of enough that they ought not to be overlooked by the scholar who shall give us the much-needed edition of the *Arcadia* which shall

Grosart text.

Fourth Song, (Stanza 4).

"*This* small light the moone bestowes  
Serves thy beames but to disclose;  
So to raise my hap more hie,  
*Feare not else* none can us spie."

Then farewell, world, thy uttermost I see,  
Eternall Love, maintain thy life in me."

Gros. ed. Sidney, Vol. i., p. 147.

Of course this waif sonnet may be simply an imitation of Sidney, and may be Breton's work. That he is open to the charge of plagiarism appears from Dr. Grosart's long, elaborate and not convincingly exonerating defence of him as regards the passages of his poems which are strikingly similar to some of Watson's works. Perhaps he caught the Sidneian strain at a few rare intervals. Perhaps he was the mocking-bird in the Elizabethan nest. Who knows?

There remains to be treated yet, under the subject of Sidney's poems in this Rawlinson manuscript, the variant readings which the text gives, and the Sidney poems signed by other names. A few examples of the variations will best show their value. I give from the text of the '90 quarto of the *Arcadia* to show that it differs from the manuscript text, which is supposedly contemporaneous.

"And cast from me *the burthens* of my care  
But in *these* sands my *pains* foretold I find."  
(Rawl. Poet. 85, fol. 23<sup>b</sup>).

"*Both working still*, in neither find I rest."  
(Rawl. Poet. 85, fol. 23).

have a good text and adequate notes.

The manuscript offers curiously few changes in the poems which are printed in the *Certaine Sonets*, and the two for which it is the source are, naturally, the ones without changes—except in the case of the lost stanzas which I have given above.

This leaves the three Stella songs to be considered. They have many changes even in some rather important passages.

MS. text.

"*These* small lights the moone bestowes  
Serves thy beames but to disclose;  
And to raise my hap more hie  
*For naught els*, none can us spy.

## Fourth Song, (Stanza 6).

"Niggard time threatens if *we* misse,  
This large offer of *our* blisse  
*Long stay ere he grant the same.*"

## Sixth Song (stanza 5).

"Musick more lofty swels  
In *speeches nobly placed*"

## Eight Song (Stanza 14).

"Never season *was* more fit;  
Never *roome* more apt for it;  
*Smiling ayre* allows my reason;  
These birds sing Now *use the season.*"

## Tenth Song (stanza 8).

"O my thought, my thoughts surcease  
*Thy* delights my *woes* increase  
*My life melts* with too much thinking  
*Thinke no more but die in me*  
*Till thou shalt revived be*  
*At her lips* my nectar drinking."

But most of the changes in these songs are not better readings, and I should not wish to see them substituted for the '91 quarto text.

Of the two Sidney poems which in this manuscript are signed by other names, one "Finding those beams which I must ever love" has "Mr. Norrell" appended; the other, the Stella song "O dear love when shall it be," is attributed to Breton. The former is one of the best of Sidney's sonnets outside the Stella cycle; Dr. Grosart prints it with his *Sidera*, and Mr. Pollard in his supplement, thus showing that they consider it to be one which has close connection of thought and style with those of the cycle. It was first printed among the *Certaine Sonets*, '98 *Arcadia*, p. 481, and is found in fol. 12 in the manuscript. The song is one of the sweetest and most precious of Elizabethan songs. We cannot let Breton claim that. It is in the '91 quartos and occurs on foll. 107<sup>b</sup>-108 of the manuscript.

This ends the Sidneian literature of this interesting manuscript, except several poems on his death, one of which, a long pastoral with Spenserian touches, I have not found elsewhere, though it is probably somewhere in the mass of printed matter which the death of Sidney called forth. The only topic of much value which the manuscript has sug-

"Niggard time threatens if *you* misse  
This large offer of *your* blisse.  
*No longer stay but graunt the same.*"

"In *phrases finely placed.*"

"Never season *yet* more fit;  
Never tyme more apt for it,  
*These sweet trees* allow my reason;  
These birds sing 'Now *is thy* season."

*My* thought, my thought surcease  
*These* delights my *paynes* increase,  
*And I dy* with too much thinking  
*Thoughte therefore come sleepe* with me  
*Until thou maist awaked be*  
*At her mouth* my nectar drinking."

gested is that of the Sidney *vs.* Breton, which, considering the varied sources of the evidence, seems at present to incline toward Sidney's side.

MARY BOWEN.

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## EDITIONS OF 'MARIA STUART.'

*Maria Stuart* edited by EDWARD S. JOYNES,  
M. A. New York: Holt & Co. 1894, pp.  
xli, 266.

*Maria Stuart* edited by LEWIS A. RHOADES,  
Ph. D. Boston: Heath & Co., 1894, pp.  
xxiv, 232.

*Maria Stuart* edited by KARL BREUL, M.A.,  
Ph. D. Cambridge: University Press. 1893.  
Pitt Press Series, pp. xxxii, 272.

For many reasons, Schiller's *Maria Stuart* may be regarded as the most useful of his dramas for introducing our students to a reading of the classics. Its limited scope and rapid development, its nearness in subject to American students, its essential nobility and loftiness of sentiment, its freedom from strained romanticism, give it advantages over any other of his works for this purpose. It is perhaps an indication of subserviency to Eng-

lish influences in literature that the play has been somewhat neglected in this country, for the delineation of Elizabeth has always been unacceptable to the English national feeling.

We have recently been given three excellent texts, each of which is a gratifying indication of the present plane of modern language studies. Prof. Joynes's text, entirely recast after fifteen years, is of especial pedagogic interest, and shows great advance over his former edition. It is a useful and attractive book, whose object is to bring fairly mature students most effectively into the appreciative reading of the work. The most suggestive remark, in the light of present debatable issues, is,

"The student who begins a literary work like *Maria Stuart* should feel that he has now risen above the plane of mere language study, and should be helped, so far as may be, to read and enjoy Schiller or Goethe in the same spirit, if not yet to the same degree, as like masterpieces in his mother-tongue."

It will be admitted that this theory has been carried out with the utmost consistency, indeed with an almost radical suppression of inherited "philological" apparatus. A reverent piety toward the aesthetic beauties of Schiller's work is characteristic of the manner of treatment, and a sympathetic penetration into its spirit is manifested. The life of Schiller, Introduction, and Notes are clear and helpful to the purposes in view. Exception must be taken to the statement (p. xl) that in *Maria Stuart* the author "for the first time employs lyric stanzas." Are not the soldier-songs in *Wallenstein's Lager* and Thekla's song in *Die Piccolomini* to be so classed? It is to be regretted that, if Bohn's translation of the correspondence "is not very good," it should be cited at all. Waiving further detailed criticism, the book is to be unhesitatingly recommended as an available help to younger students of German literature.

Dr. Rhoades's edition is on a higher plane of criticism, and somewhat more learned in treatment. The standpoint of the editor involves the leading back of the drama to the philosophic dramatical principles upon which it was constructed. This plan does not interfere with simplicity in annotation, some

of the grammatical notes being very elementary. The edition is entirely creditable, and based upon wide critical and historical information. As regards its form, it seems unfortunate that the editor's reluctance to break a line between Scenes 12 and 13 of the fifth act, have led him to an enumeration of the lines of the text which varies from the others mentioned. For such an interrupted line we have sufficient warrant in *Piccolomini* iii, Scenes 2 and 3, and *Wallenstein's Tod*, iii, Scenes 1 and 2. In the note to l. 886 *Eurem* should stand for *Einem*; in l. 1009 *war* appears for *wahr*.

Breul's text continues to be the most complete English edition, with quite a full bibliographical apparatus. The editor rather apologizes for reducing the etymological notes, though the lack of such, as well as of those involving comparative grammar, synonyms, and variously associated items of linguistic information, is not apparent. The minute dissection of the subject-matter of the drama belongs to the histologic method which is characteristic of English texts, but it seems strange that the editor, in one of his excursions into the field of general information, should gratuitously condemn Schiller's metrical freedom by an appeal to sources which were possibly his warrant for the liberty. Commenting on l. 1099, where the same word, repeated, is treated as stressed and unstressed, Breul remarks,

"This would be quite impossible in Latin or Greek versification, where only quantity is considered and where the same syllable cannot as a rule be used either long or short."

Vergil's repetition *Hyla Hyla* (Ecl. 6, 44), and Martial's *Apes Apes* (9, 11, 15) cast a peculiar light upon this note.

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#### ENGLISH VERSE.

*Repetition and Parallelism in English Verse:* a study in the technique of poetry. By C. ALPHONSO SMITH. 8vo, pp. 76. New York and New Orleans: University Publishing Company, 1894.



TREATISES ON English verse, both in a general way and with regard to special problems, are not by any means lacking, yet every student will extend a hearty welcome to the above named work by Dr. C. Alphonso Smith, professor of English in the Louisiana State University, and formerly assistant in English in the Johns Hopkins University. Not recently has there appeared so little a book that contains so much in the way of suggestive and penetrating criticism. If real suggestiveness be the criterion in determining what is best in literary criticism, surely this treatise deserves a high rank in its special field.

Dr. Smith divides his book into five chapters, as follows: I. Introduction; Nature and Agencies of Repetition and Parallelism; Illustrations. II. Greek Influence: Repetition in the English Elegy. III. Finnish Influence: Repetition in "Hiawatha" and other Finnish Imitations. IV. Repetition in the Poems of Edgar Allan Poe. V. Repetition in the Poems of Algernon Charles Swinburne.

In the first chapter the subject is fully defined:

"In verse, repetition is chiefly employed not for emphasis (compare the use of the refrain), but for melody or rhythm, for continuousness or sonorousness of effect, for unity of impression, for banding lines or stanzas, and for the more indefinable though not less important purposes of suggestiveness."

A number of examples are cited in illustration of the value of repetition and parallelism, and it is to be noted that these examples show the wide range of the author's reading. A suggestive remark is contained in this (p. 18):

"The study of repetition in the works of any poet brings us much nearer to a right appreciation of his characteristic style than the study of his rimes, his line-lengths, or his poetic feet can ever do. For in repetition we trace the precise movement of the poet's thought, we gauge his pace; and this cannot be shown with equal clearness in any other way."

The second and third chapters are very short, and their paragraphs are the most lucid in the book. But it is in the last two chapters that most of the value of the book lies. Dr. Smith has studied his Poe and his Swinburne most carefully, and the result is an

acute criticism not simply of their metrical methods, but of their poetical merits and demerits as well. Herein is seen the value of a special study of the metrical effects of these two much misunderstood poets. For instance, Mr. Stedman, to whom we are great debtors for some of the best of our latter day criticism, had not studied Swinburne thoroughly when he said that Swinburne was "a born tamer of words," for Dr. Smith shows conclusively that "Swinburne is a tamer not of words but of sounds."

Dr. Smith's chapter on Poe is the best portion of his book, and it should be widely read by Poe's countrymen. Commenting on Mr. Gosse's query as to the lack of appreciation of Poe in America our author says (pp. 45, 46):

"It is to be regretted that foreign critics, while paying deserved tribute to Poe, should see fit, by way of intended antithesis, to indulge in belittling comments upon American literature as a whole. Does not the real antithesis lie in the contrast between foreign appreciation of Poe and foreign ignorance of American literature in general? However this may be, it is certain that Poe's fame has suffered from the indiscriminate eulogy of friends almost as much as from the coarse slander of enemies."

The much abused comparison of Poe and Longfellow is thus given its quietus (p. 51):

"To compare Poe with Longfellow, as is so often done, is to compare two men who had almost nothing in common, whose views of the poetic art were almost antipodal, and whose works, valuable and enduring as both are, will not bear comparison, being wholly unamenable to the same law or laws."

The chapter closes with a summing up that inevitably follows from Dr. Smith's arguments (p. 56):

"The conflicting opinions held especially in this country in regard to Poe's genius and to the originality and permanence of his work are due, I am convinced, almost entirely to the failure to judge his work by the canons of criticism that alone are applicable. If put upon the same plane with Longfellow and Tennyson, Poe is insignificant beside them. His range is narrower than theirs, his voice thinner. But in the realm of the older ballad, in complete mastery of the sensuous effects that lurk in color, form, and sound, heightened by brooding and indefinable gloom, Poe takes easy and secure precedence. Room for him

here must be made beside Bürger, Goethe, and Coleridge."

Dr. Smith's book was not printed to exploit any pet theory or to make prominent any critical idiosyncrasy of its author. It is clear, concise, and full of substance expressed in an easy and convincing style. Defects may be found occasionally, for no book is without them; but the work is of such positive merit as to call for high commendation. Following the German method, one might be disposed to tear it to pieces; but as its criticism is itself constructive, it deserves equally as good treatment at the hands of a reviewer. It is to be hoped that Dr. Smith will regard this work only as the forerunner of a larger and more complete treatise on English verse in general.

In conclusion, I may be pardoned if I insert as a slight supplement to his examples a little poem by Mr. William Watson, which depends for its beauty and melody on its repetitions, and which, with strange fatuity, the author has omitted from the latest edition of his poems.

#### A SONG OF THREE SINGERS.

"Wave and wind and willow-tree  
Speak a speech that no man knoweth;  
Tree that sigheth, wind that bloweth,  
Wave that floweth to the sea:  
Wave and wind and willow-tree.

"Peerless perfect poets ye,  
Singing songs all songs excelling.  
Fine as crystal music dwelling  
In a welling fountain free:  
Peerless perfect poets three!

"Wave and wind and willow-tree  
Know not aught of poets' rhyming,  
Yet they make a silver-chiming  
Sunward-climbing minstrelsy,  
Soother than all songs could be.

"Blows the wind it knows not why,  
Flows the wave it knows not whither,  
And the willow swayeth hither,  
Swayeth thither witlessly  
Nothing knowing save to sigh."

CHARLES HUNTER ROSS.

*Agricul. and Mech. College of Alabama.*

#### CORRESPONDENCE.

##### SOME MANUSCRIPT READINGS IN THE POEMA DE FERNAN GONZALEZ.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES.

SIRS:—Señor Cuervo, in the first instalment of his article "Los casos enclíticos y proclíticos del pronombre de tercera persona en castellano" in *Romania* Vol. xxiv, p. 109, mentions among others the following cases of the use of *los* in the dative for *les*: "'non *los* pudo ninguno aquesto rretraer' del Fernan Gonzalez con otro verso en que varían las ediciones (copla 116)." The writer omits the reference to his quotation; it is Janer's copla 45, Gallardo I, col. 775, l. 38. Now, though both editions read *los*, in the Escorial manuscript upon which both of the printed texts are based, the reading is *les*. To be sure, the vowel in the MSS. is blurred, which fact may account for the misreading on the part of both editors, but when the word is examined by aid of the glass, there is no doubt that the vowel is *e* not *o*.

The second occurrence cited by Señor Cuervo, shows different reading in the two editions; Janer copla 116 has *les*, the corresponding passage in Gallardo I, col. 769, l. 58, has *los*. In the manuscript the interior of the vowel is blotted, so that it is difficult to determine whether the vowel is *e* or *o*. A comparative study of the other occurrences of *les* and *los* in the same work, leads me to write *les*. I call attention, in passing, to a reading of Janer in a portion of the poem not included in the 1000 lines examined by Cuervo. Janer copla 269b, has "Porque *les* dexó ver atamanna maravylla," whereas Gallardo reads *los* in this verse. The manuscript agrees with Janer's text in regard to the form of the pronoun.

A final remark in regard to the textual value of the two editions of the poem in question. Janer, in speaking of his text, remarks: "Conservamos con la mayor escrupulosidad el

<sup>1</sup> *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. lvii, Madrid, 1864.

<sup>2</sup> *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española de libros raros y curiosos*, Vol. i, Madrid, 1863.

carácter y la ortografía del codice que contiene esta preciosa composicion,"<sup>3</sup> but in spite of this statement, his text contains over five hundred false readings, among which are numerous omissions of letters, words and in one case, of an entire verse.<sup>4</sup>

Gallardo's edition is by no means a careful copy of the original, for it too is rich in misreadings, including omissions of letters, words and, in seventeen cases, of entire verses.<sup>5</sup>

The above facts make it evident that statistics and conclusions based on such texts cannot be considered trustworthy and it is this condition of affairs that has led me to undertake the preparation of a paleographic text of the poem.

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#### MIDDLE ENGLISH CITATION.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES:

SIRS:—In the February number of MOD. LANG. NOTES, col. 93, Professor Baldwin asks for information concerning the poem from which Halliwell took the two lines there cited. They are from *The Romance of Sir Eglamour of Artois* (*Thornton Romances*, ed. Halliwell, 1844, p. 134).—

The yeant to the knyȝt ys gon,  
A clobb of yron in honde hathe tan,  
That was mekylle and fulle unwelde;  
Grete strokys the yeant gafe,  
And to the erthe fleȝ hys staf  
Two fote on every syde.

A. S. NAPIER.

University of Oxford.

#### BRIEF MENTION.

The *Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturgeschichte*, edited by Bernhardt Seuffert, the publication of which was discontinued after

<sup>3</sup> *Bib. de Auct. Esp.*, Vol. lvii, p. 389 note.

<sup>4</sup> Coplo 504e.

<sup>5</sup> Corresponding to Jauer, coplas 13d, 34c, 60c, 84d, 117b, 144b, 153c, 168c, 291d, 331c, 334d, 501c, 556 entire copla and 657d.

the completion of the sixth volume (see MOD. LANG. NOTES, ix, 31), was succeeded by *Euphorion*, *Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte*, edited by Professor A. Sauer of Prague (Bamberg: C. C. Buchner). The new journal has just entered upon its second volume. The first volume contains contributions by A. E. Schönbach, O. Harnack, J. Minor, R. M. Meyer, K. Werner, B. Seuffert, J. Bolte, A. Leitzmann, E. Schmidt, H. Baumgart, M. Herrmann, A. Sauer, W. Frhr. von Biedermann, L. Geiger, H. Blümner, W. Creizenach and others well known as investigators in literary history. As the older publications devoted to the history of the German language and literature have all gradually devoted themselves almost entirely either to linguistics or to mediæval literature, the *Euphorion* occupies at present a unique place in periodical literature as the only journal devoted exclusively to the history of German literature since the Reformation. The names of the principal contributors vouch for the scientific value of the journal, and it is to be hoped that the public will not allow this new enterprise to share the fate of its predecessor.

With the laudable purpose of making the poetry of Lanier more widely known, and especially of providing a little work suitable for literature-classes, Prof. Callaway has published a helpful anthology: *Select Poems of Sidney Lanier*: edited by Morgan Callaway Jr., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895. The selections are representative; the introduction gives us a satisfactory acquaintance with the poet, his work, and his views of art; and the excellent notes not only illustrate the text, but indicate suggestively the treatment of similar themes by other poets. An intelligent class might learn from these notes a delightful as well as profitable method of studying poetic themes.



## JOURNAL NOTICES.

ARCHIV FÜR DAS STUDIUM DER NEUEREN SPRACHEN UND LITTERATUREN. XCIII. BAND, 1. U. 2. HEFT.—von **Ryssel, V.**, Syrische Quellen abendländischer Erzählungsstoffe.—von **Letzmann, Albert**, Ungedruckte Briefe Georg Forsters. IV, 3.—von **Henkel, Hermann**, Goethes satirisch-humoristische Dichtungen dramatischer Form.—von **Kolbing, E.**, Kollationen zu Ausgaben isländischer romantischer Sagas.—von **Schultz, Oskar**, Über den Liederstreit zwischen Sordel und Peire Bremon.—**Tobler, Adolf**, Zu 'Un samedi par nuit.'—**Schmilinsky, G.**, Proben einer Übersetzung der Chanson de Roland.—Sitzungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für das Studium der neueren Sprachen. Neuphilologischer Verein in Wien.—**Tobler, Adolf**, John Ries, Was ist Syntax? Ein kritischer Versuch.—**Glode, O.**, O. Rohde, Die Erzählung vom Einsiedler und dem Engel in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung. Ein Beitrag zur Exempel-Litteratur.—**Tobler, Adolf**, Gaston Paris. La Légende de Saladin.—**Frankel, Ludwig**, Systematisches Verzeichnis der Programmabhandlungen, Dissertationen und Habilitationsschriften aus dem Gebiete der romanischen und englischen Philologie, sowie der allgemeinen Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft und der Pädagogik und Methodik. Von Hermann Varnhagen. Zweite vollständig umgearbeitete Auflage. Besorgt von Johannes Martin.—**Schmidt, Max C. P.**, Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft. Red. von Carl Glossy.—**Frankel, Ludwig**, Das niederdeutsche Schauspiel. Zum Kulturleben Hamburgs. Von Karl Theodor Gaedertz. Neue, um zwei Vorworte vermehrte Auflage.—**Z., J.**, Allgemeine Sammlung niederdeutscher Rätsels. Nebst einigen anderen mundartlichen Rätselaufgaben und Auflösungen. Herausgegeben von Rudolf Echart.—**Z., J.**, History of the English Language. By T. R. Lounsbury. Revised and enlarged Edition.—**Mangold, W.**, Dr. Immanuel Schmidt, Lehrbuch der englischen Sprache. Zweiter Teil: Schulgrammatik der englischen Sprache mit Übungsbeispielen. 4. Umgearbeitete Auflage.—**Opitz, G.**, 1. English Grammar, IInd Part. Neue englische Schulgrammatik auf Grund seines Lesebuches 'England and the English' bearbeitet von Dr. Heinrich Löwe.—2. England and the English. Neues englisches Lesebuch für deutsche Schulen. Mittelstufe. Mit Anmerkungen herausgegeben von Dr. Heinrich Löwe.—**Opitz, G.**, Dr. Ew. Görlich, Wörterbuch zu dem englischen Lesebuch.—**Z., J.**, Shaksperes 'Sturm.' Ein Kulturbild von Paul Roden.—**Z., J.**, Die göttliche Rowe. Von Theodor Vetter.—**Mueller, Ad.**, Dickmann, Französische und englische Schulbibliothek.—**Krueger, G.**, The prisoner of Chillon. Mazeppa by Lord Byron. Mit Anmerkungen zum Schulgebrauch herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. K. Bandow.—**Opitz, G.**, Argyle's and Monmouth's Attempts on Scotland and England in 1685. By Th. B. Macaulay. In gekürzter Fassung herausgegeben von Professor O. Schmager.—**Z., J.**, Miss Ormerod's Protégé. By F. C. Philips.—**Z., J.**, Penshurst Castle in the time of Sir Philip Sidney. By Emma Marshall.—**Z., J.**, The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes. By A. Conan Doyle.—**Z., J.**, A Protégé of Jack Hamlin's, etc. By Bret

Harte.—**Z., J.**, A Ward in Chancery. By Mrs. Alexander.—**Z., J.**, Saint Ann's. By W. E. Norris.—**Z., J.**, The Red House Mystery. A Novel. By Mrs. Hungerford.—**Frankel, Ludwig**, Friedrich Diez. Sein Leben und Wirken. Festschrift gehalten zur Feier des hundertsten Geburtstages am 3. März 1894 von Hermann Breymann.—**Krueger, G.**, Deutsch-französisches Übungsbuch von Arnold Ohlert.—**Krueger, G.**, Französisches Lesebuch für die ersten Unterrichtsjahre. Vornehmlich für Realschulen und verwandte Lehranstalten. Herausgeg. von F. Scheibner und G. Schauerhammer.—**Mahrenholtz, R.**, Dr. Georg Stern. Französ. Lesebuch für die Mittelstufe.—**Krueger, G.**, Französische und englische Schulbibliothek, herausgegeben von Otto E. A. Dickmann. C. IX.—**Krueger, G.**, Textausgaben französischer und englischer Schriftsteller für den Schulgebrauch.—**Krueger, G.**, Bibliothèque française.—**Krueger, G.**, Au Coin du Feu par Emile Souvestre. Erklärt von Dr. A. Güth.—Dritte Auflage besorgt von Prof. Dr. G. Lücking.—**Mangold, W.**, L. Bahlsen und J. Hengesbach, Schulbibliothek französischer und englischer Prosaschriften aus der neueren Zeit.—**Cloetta, Wilhelm**, Joseph E. dier, Les Fabliaux. Études de littérature populaire et d'histoire littéraire du moyen âge.—**Tobler, Adolf**, B. Zumbini, sulle poesie di Vincenzo Monti, Studi. Terza edizione interamente riveduta con la giunta di un discorso dell'autore sulla nostra presente critica letteraria.—**Mueller, Ad.**, G. Spill, Über den neu-fremdsprachlichen Unterricht.—**Franz, Feyer**, Der neue Sprachunterricht.—**Findlay, J. J.**, Preparations for Instruction in English on a Direct Method.—**Mangold, W.**, Dr. K. Mühlefeld, Die Lehre von der Vorstellungsverwandtschaft und ihre Anwendung auf den Sprachunterricht.—Verzeichnis der vom 24. Mai bis zum 20. Juli 1894 bei der Redaktion eingelaufenen Druckschriften.

DIE NEUEREN SPRACHEN. ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DEN NEUSPRACHLICHEN UNTERRICHT, MIT DEM BEIHLATT PHONETISCHE STUDIEN. II BAND. 6 HEFT.—von **Glode, O.**, In Weimar i. M., (II). Die Französische Interpunktionslehre.—von **Uthemann-v. Schenck, Marie**, In Kassel. Übersetzungen aus dem englischen.—von **Regel, Ernst**, In Halle a. S. Lehr- und Lesebuch der englischen Sprache nach der analytisch-direkten Methode für höhere Schulen von Dr. Julius Bierbaum.—von **Beyer, A.**, In Bremen. Englisches Elementarbuch für Gymnasien von Dr. Adolph Lüttge.—E. H. Barnstorff, Lehr- und Lesebuch der englischen Sprache.—Joh. Schmarje und E. H. Barnstorff, Englisches Lesebuch.—von **Kron, R.**, In M.-Gladbach. Schmagersche Textausgaben. (12) Celebrated Men of England and Scotland, hsg. von Dr. O. Schulze.—(13) Auswahl aus Byron: Childe Harold, Prisoner of Chillon, Mazeppa, hsg. von Dr. J. Hengesbach.—von **Hoffmann, H.**, In Ratibor. Albert Heintze, Gut deutsch.—von **D. F.**, B. A. Jourdan, An English Girl in France, hsg. von Dr. C. Th. Lion 2. Aufl.—von **Kuhn, K.**, In Wiesbaden. Zu prof. Schippers "nachträglichen bemerkungen."—von **Kambrau, A.**, In Mountain Lake Park, Md. Das Lektorenwesen.—von **Suetterlin, Ludwig**, In Heidelberg. Erklärung.—von **Brunswick, Dr.**, In Wiesbaden. Erwiderung.—von **Boemer, Ludwig**, In Frankfurt a. M. Antwort.—von **Banner, Dr.**, In Frankfurt a. M. Erklärung.—von **V. W.**, Noch einmal alt- und neuenglisch auf den deutschen Universitäten.—von **D. F.**, In Frankfurt a. M. Ferienkursus (3.—15. Januar 1895).